

# California Historical Quarterly



spring 1977



THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, works to preserve the historical source materials on which cultural understanding is built; to serve as a clearing house for scholarship which may influence the paths of knowledge; and, by presenting to the public historical publications, programs, and services, to enable people to examine, evaluate, and question the intellectual, social, political, economic, and aesthetic traditions that shape their lives in California today. All are invited to join.

Published continuously since 1922, the *California Historical Quarterly* is the Society's ongoing vehicle of inquiry and the only magazine exclusively devoted to California history from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, book reviews, and pictorial essays explore the state's social, economic, political, ethnic, and aesthetic heritage, encouraging examination of the interplay between the past and present.

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#### COVER

Preserved in this silvery 1851 quarter-plate (3¼ x 4¼") daguerreotype is the image of an intense but unidentified young gentleman-scholar of San Francisco. A groundbreaking study of the early studio portraitist, William Shew, whose name is stamped on the handsome case holding the daguerreotype, and the social impact in California of the nineteenth-century reality-recording process begins on page 2. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

# California Historical Quarterly

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# *“Likenesses taken in the most approved style”*

The daguerreotype, the first perfected method of photography, crossed the Atlantic from France to the United States in 1839. A process in which pure silver was plated onto a sheet of copper, then exposed to chemicals and light and more chemicals, daguerreotyping produced an image on a mirror-like surface of unsurpassed delicacy and tonal subtlety.<sup>1</sup>

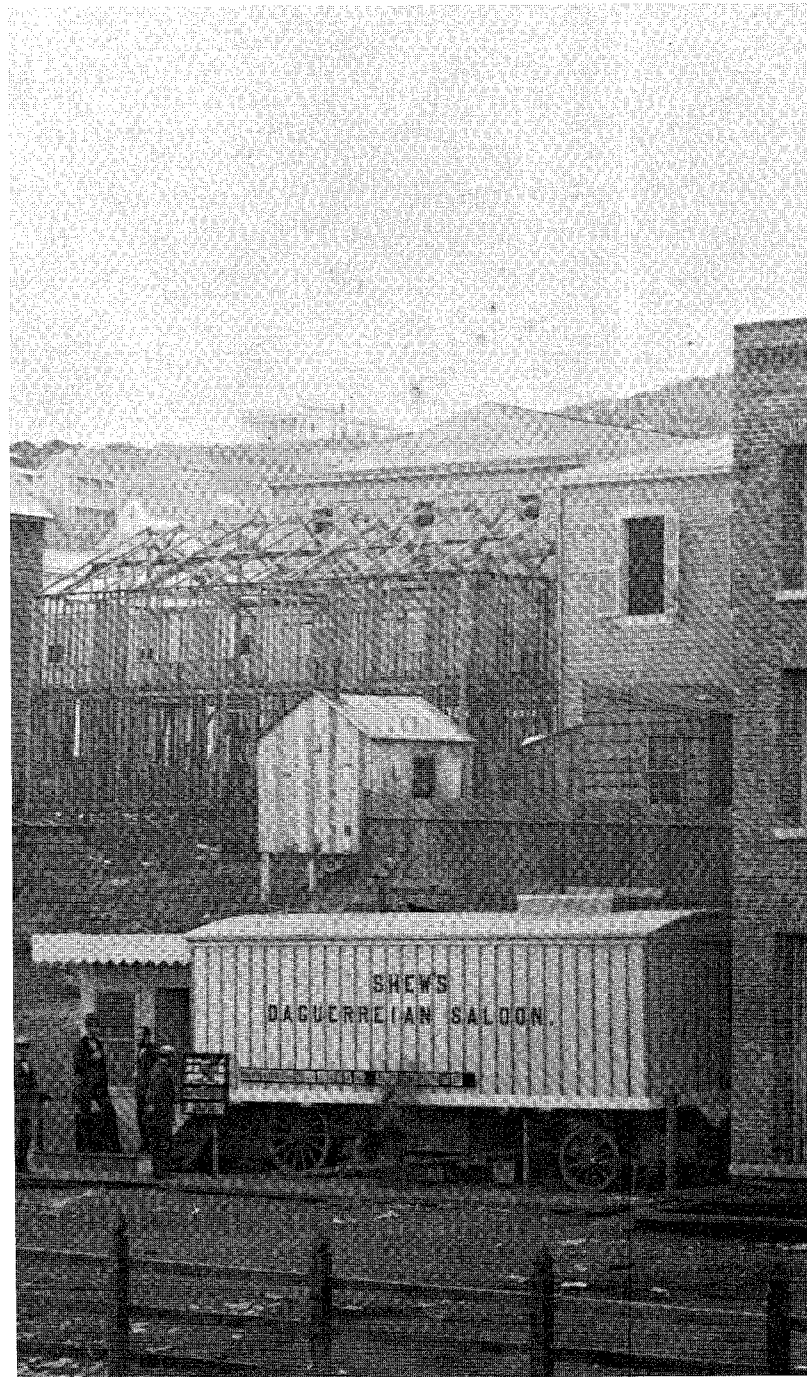
Introduced at a time when Americans were seeking to express visually a growing awareness of national feeling and destiny, the daguerreotype (named after L. J. M. Daguerre) made possible a permanent accurate record of people (particularly, national heroes), places, and events, and contributed to a sense of shared experience, history, and national character. As for the role of the daguerreotypist, historian Richard Rudisill has reflected that:

The daguerreotypist must be seen as a type of “Universal Man” who participated in all aspects of his society—he performed as an eclectic aesthetic technologist, he responded to the tug of westering and national growth, he deliberately summarized the traits of his age and sought to define its character by providing it with visible symbols of its ideals. He served his age as a descriptive artist and a didactic guide—in all these roles using his camera paired with his own sensitivity to show the nation to itself.<sup>2</sup>

Of all the cities in America, San Francisco was perhaps the most frequently daguerreotyped. World-wide curiosity about the new and socially fluid “City of Gold” and the desire of its proud citizens to send home local portraits made the plates of the daguerreotypist in constant demand. Historian Beaumont Newhall documents fifty photographers at work in San Francisco between 1850 and 1864,<sup>3</sup> a mere fourteen years after the complicated process arrived on the distant coast of the United States. Of these practitioners, perhaps a dozen were serious

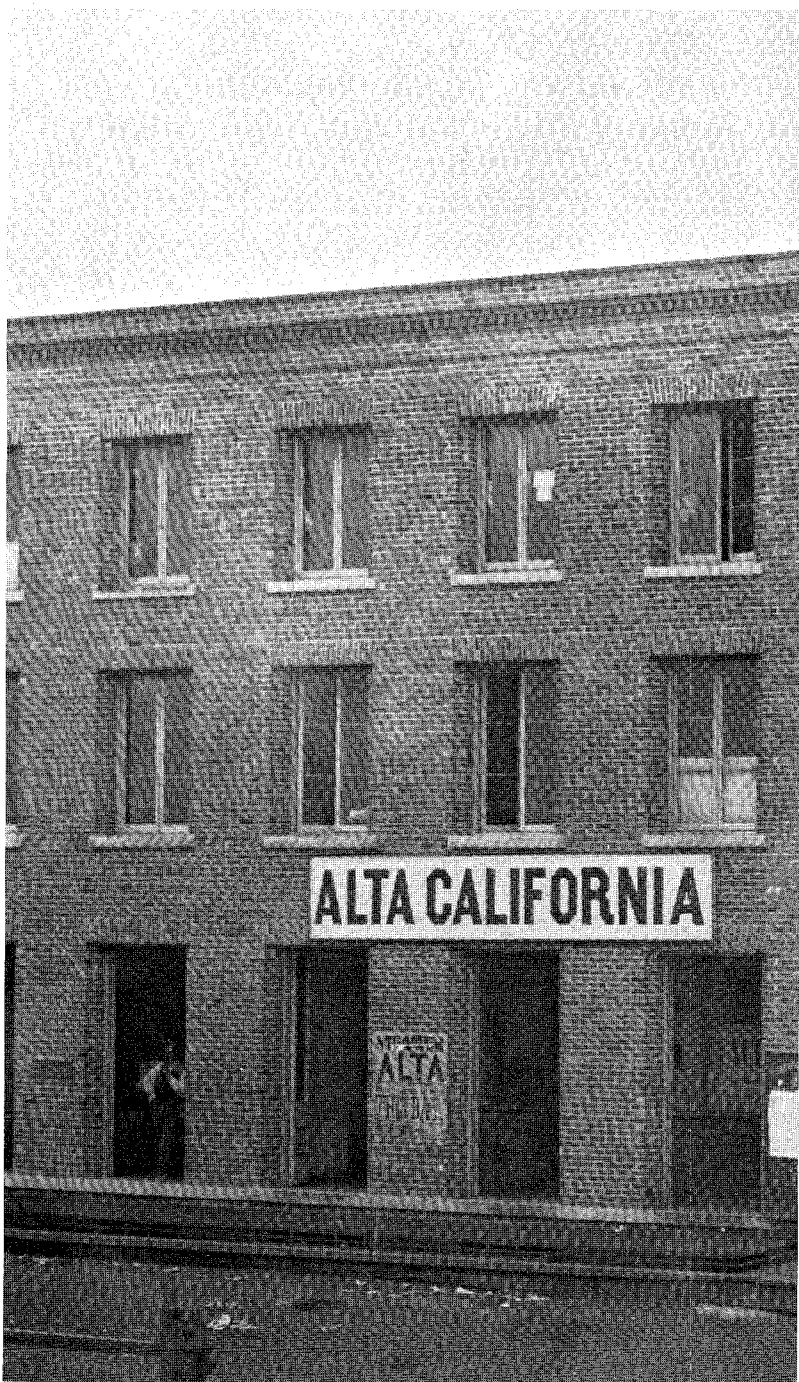
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Ms. Calmenson, employed by the University of California Press, is production editor and book designer of a forthcoming collection of essays by early twentieth-century art and photo critic, Sadakichi Hartmann. She is also engaged in research on the Juneau, Alaska, photographic partnership of Lloyd Winter and Edwin Pond, 1886–1943.





# William Shew, *pioneer daguerreotypist*



craftsmen skilled in their trade who carved out long-term successful careers; the remainder were dentists, lawyers, merchants, and artists who flirted with the world of the photographic image for a short period and then abandoned it for something more profitable.

One of the city's earliest photographers, however, William Shew, opened a studio in San Francisco in 1851 and for some fifty years until his death in 1903 produced fine photographs. Although neither an innovator nor a modern legend such as his contemporaries Eadweard Muybridge and Carleton Watkins, Shew maintained a successful photographic studio for over a half-century based on his consistent quality and craftsmanship. In a period when steadfastness seemed an unattainable norm for San Francisco's business community, William Shew's tenacity and loyalty to the pioneer city contributed substantially to the growth of its artistic and business life.

When William Shew debarked at San Francisco's Yerba Buena Cove from the U.S. *Tennessee*,<sup>4</sup> a mail steamer traveling from Panama, on March 4, 1851,<sup>5</sup> he found a city of men with the desire to grow rich and make their mark—if not in the gold fields, then through the commerce and industry that accompanied the Gold Rush. Populated by a mere 812 people in 1848, the city housed over 25,000 people by 1850. Half were foreign and less than 10 per cent were women. San Francisco had become a bustling, urban, cosmopolitan city whose inhabitants firmly believed that "every man had an equal right to an equal chance to his fair share of fortune."<sup>7</sup>

Shew was not the first daguerreotypist to find his way to San Francisco. Most likely a woman, Julie Shannon, was the city's earliest photographer. Advertising in the January 29, 1850, issue of the *Alta California*, she capitalized on the unavailability of women in the bustling town of gold miners and merchants:

Those wishing to have a good likeness are informed that they can have them taken in a very superior manner, and by a *real live lady* too, in Clay St. opposite the St. Francis Hotel, at a very moderate charge. Give her a call, gents.<sup>7</sup>

On "one moonshiny night" in 1851, William Shew "trundled his studio onto the vacant lot opposite our office"—a move documented in this whole-plate daguerreotype, probably by Shew.



In September of the same year, Mrs. Shannon advertised in the *City Directory* as both a midwife and daguerreotypist: "Mrs. Shannon, Midwife, corner of Clay and Dupont Sts., at her Dageurrian (sic) Rooms, or Stockton St., opposite the hospital."<sup>8</sup> Julie Shannon's photographic efforts were short-lived, however, and by 1852 she was listed only as midwife.<sup>9</sup>

Two other daguerreotypists also advertised in the September, 1850, *City Directory*: W. Henry Bradley, who later formed a successful, long-standing partnership with William Rulofson;<sup>10</sup> and Fred Coombs, who became well-known for his daguerreotype views of Montgomery Street.<sup>11</sup> In January, 1851, the *Alta California* paid homage to a five-plate panoramic view of the city of San Francisco taken by S. C. McIntyre, "dentist turned daguerreotypist" from Tallahassee, Florida. The panorama, it was reported, was destined for the "World's Industrial Convention" in London:<sup>12</sup>

Decidedly the finest thing in the fine arts produced in this city, which we have seen, is a consecutive series of Daguerrean plates, five in number, arranged side by side so as to give a view of our entire city and harbor. . . . This picture, for such it may be termed, although the first attempt, is nearly perfect. It is admirable in execution as well as design.<sup>13</sup>

By the time William Shew arrived in March, 1851, however, both McIntyre and Coombs had disappeared from city records. Thus Shew's fellow photographers in his first year included only Bradley and one P. G. Clark, who opened his "Eureka Daguerrean Rooms" on Montgomery Street in the same year as Shew.<sup>14</sup>

It is difficult to know what drew the thirty-one-year-old William Shew to California. His younger brother, Jacob, had succumbed to "gold fever" and found himself in Calaveras County in July, 1849, as a miner.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps Jacob wrote home of the wonders of the "golden land" and William decided to follow.

William's history before his arrival in San Francisco is sketchy. Born in March, 1820,<sup>16</sup> on a farm near Watertown in Jefferson County, New York,<sup>17</sup> William had

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*"Mr. Shew, to show his independence, trundled his studio—most artistically selecting one moonshiny night last week for the removal—onto the vacant lot opposite our office."*

*Alta California*, October 6, 1851

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three brothers—Myron, Jacob, and Trueman—who were all involved in photography throughout their lives. He also had two sisters, Laura and Anna Margaret.

Although trained as a school teacher, William became interested in photography after reading an article by Samuel Morse which described the new daguerreotype process. William and his brothers studied with Morse in 1840 and subsequently made several unsuccessful attempts to introduce photographic studios in Watertown, Ogdensburg, and Rochester, New York. The Shew brothers then moved to New York City, where they formed the firm of L. P. Hayden & Co., 1 Park Place, for the manufacture and sale of daguerreotype materials.<sup>18</sup>

In 1841 the noted daguerreotypist John Plumbe hired William to superintend his gallery in Boston; William's brothers worked for Plumbe in Philadelphia and Baltimore.<sup>19</sup> By 1844 William ran his own gallery in Boston<sup>20</sup> where he manufactured daguerreotype cases as well as took portraits. Recognized as one of the earliest makers of cases which were art objects in themselves, William favored rose-colored frames with a solitary, rose design.<sup>21</sup>

Showing apparent family solidarity, all the Shew brothers and sisters seem to have traveled West at mid-century. Jacob arrived in 1849, followed by William in 1851. Trueman's presence in San Francisco cannot be



# WM. SHEW, DAGUERREOTYPIST

And Dealer in  
**DAGUERREOTYPE MATERIALS,**  
**UPPER SIDE OF PLAZZA,**  
(NEAR THE ALTA OFFICE)

—AND—

**136 Montgomery St., opposite Agent's Banking House,**

~~~~~  
Likenesses taken in the most approved style. Plates, Cases, Apparatus, Chemicals and a splendid assortment of gold Locketts for sale.

*Featuring "likenesses taken in the most approved style," Shew advertised his "daguerreian saloon" in the 1852 City Directory.*

positively documented, however a possible reference to him is found in the 1852 *City Directory* where a T. Shew is listed with a clothing shop on 124 Montgomery.<sup>22</sup> Anna Margaret surfaced only once, when she married a William Sherman in 1858 at the Unitarian Church in San Francisco.<sup>23</sup> Laura appeared in the city directory from 1862 to 1885 as an adjuster at the U.S. Branch Mint in San Francisco.<sup>24</sup> Myron first appeared in city records in 1865, when he began work with William at his studio, and he apparently moved in and out of the photographic world (with a brief stint at the Customs House) until his death in 1891.<sup>25</sup>

William was married (probably in Boston) to an Elisabeth Marie, who soon joined him in California.<sup>26</sup> Their only child—a daughter named Theodora Alice—was born in 1849 in Boston.<sup>27</sup> After Elisabeth died of typhoid in 1889, William married a woman twenty-nine years his junior named Annie K. Haven. They had no children.<sup>28</sup>

William's first San Francisco studio was a small gallery on wheels sent in advance from Boston. This portable gallery could be wheeled out of the path of the frequent fires occurring in the city built of wood. Its first location was on Dupont Street near Clay, and, after a fire, he moved the gallery to Portsmouth Square. A few days later, however, he was ordered out by city authorities,

who feared that he might lay claim to the lot if allowed to stay too long.<sup>29</sup> The following account of his ensuing battle with City Council appeared in the *Alta California* for October 6, 1851:

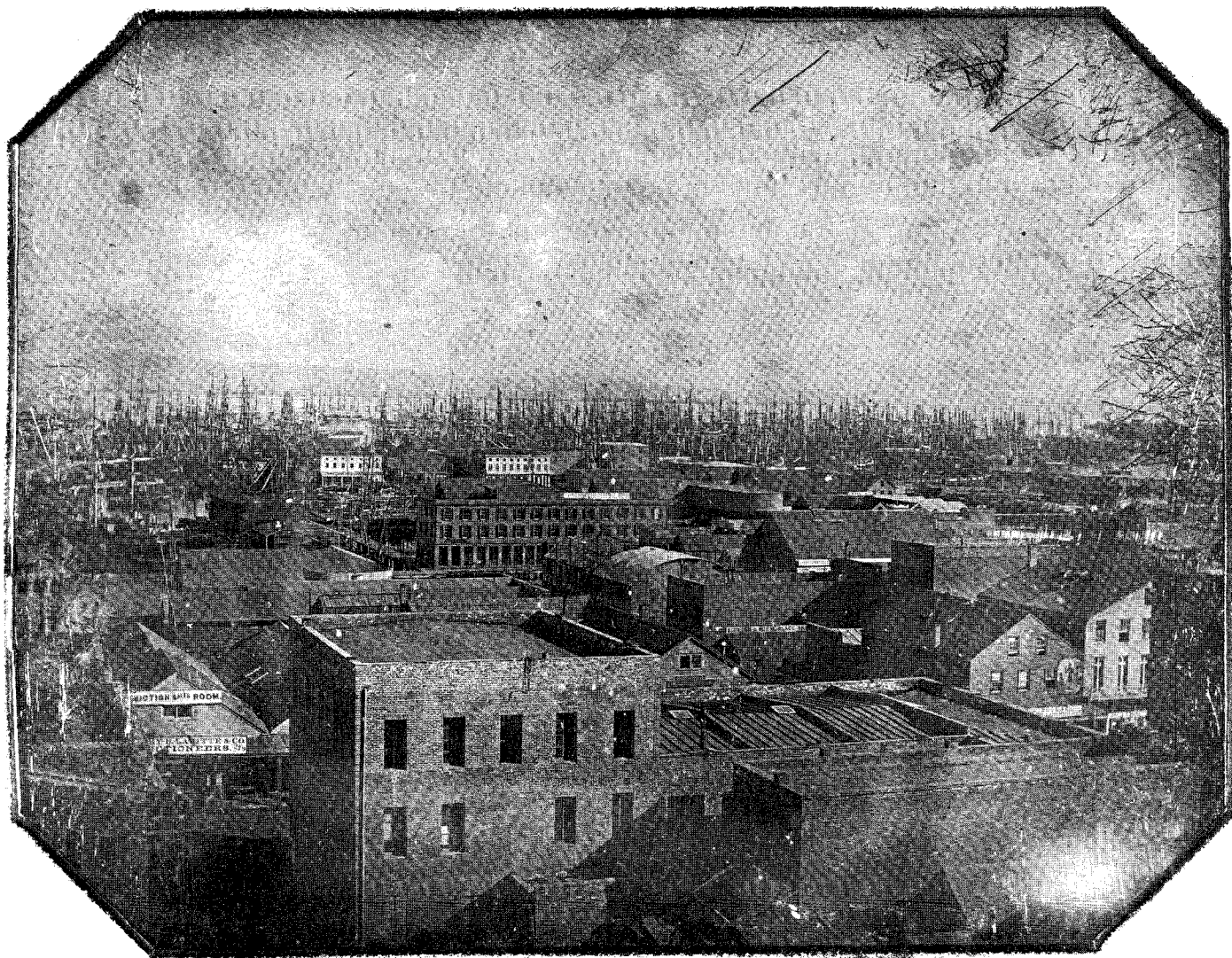
Mr. Shew had no show, it seems, before the Common Council, in reference to the matter of depositing his Daguerrean Omnibus on the Plaza. . . . Mr. Shew, therefore, to show his independence, trundled his studio—most artistically selecting one moonshiny night last week for the removal—onto the vacant lot on Washington St., opposite our office.<sup>30</sup>

William remained on this second lot for almost a year, when, in 1852, he placed his first advertisement in the *City Directory*:

Daguerreotypist and dealer in daguerreotype materials, upper side of the Plaza; near the 'Alta' office. Likenesses taken in the most approved Style, and apparatus, Plates, Cases, Chemicals and Gold Locketts for sale in quantities to suit purchasers.<sup>31</sup>

In 1853 Shew moved into a building on Clay Street between Kearny and Montgomery. Two months later a fire burned him out, and he then moved to Montgomery Street, where he operated studios at various addresses until 1871. Secure in his Montgomery Street studio, Shew advertised: "423 Montgomery is the best place in the world to obtain good photographs, ambrotypes, and





card pictures of which fact any one will be convinced who will give him a call."<sup>32</sup>

By 1871, however, Kearny Street had become the fashionable center of the arts, and Shew accordingly moved to a Kearny address. Here he remained at various numbers until his death in 1903. Shew's advertisement in the 1874 *City Directory* reflected his apparent satisfaction with his new location: "This magnificent establishment has more room, larger lights, and does better work than any other and none but the most accomplished artists employed."<sup>33</sup>

With the exception of the on-again, off-again partnership with brothers Myron and Jacob, William went into business with another daguerreotypist only once during his extended San Francisco career. In the January, 1856, *City Directory*, Shew listed with a Charles Hamilton on

163 Clay St.<sup>34</sup> This partnership, however, lasted less than a year, and Hamilton listed with a new partner in the October, 1856, *Directory*.<sup>35</sup>

Shew's changing preferences in studio locations notwithstanding, his satisfied patrons included the well-to-do of San Francisco. Among his clients were such notables as David Broderick, Captain John A. Sutter, General William Sherman, and Horace Greeley. Jacob Leese, a pioneer of 1835 who erected the first house in San Francisco, also sat for Shew, as did the famous actress of 1852, Kate Bateman, who starred for many months at the Jenny Lind Theatre in San Francisco.<sup>36</sup>



*Shew's imperial-plate daguerreotype (8x10"), one-half of a panoramic view from the corner of Kearny and Clay streets looking east to abandoned ships in the harbor, is thought to be the oldest known photograph of San Francisco. Its correct date is probably 1851.*



*Ismael Abrego, son of Don Jose Abrego, the first Mexican treasurer of California at Monterey, presented this half-plate daguerreotype in a very rare tortoise-shell case to his sweetheart in Santa Cruz. Abrego probably sat for Shew in 1851.*

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Transcendentalist philosopher, was also photographed by Shew. While many people at this time believed, with Emerson, that the camera could reveal more than the naked eye could see and mystically capture both nature and the inner character of the sitter,<sup>37</sup> Emerson had a more immediate response. In his *Journal* entry for October 24, 1841, he described the experience of sitting for a portrait—and possibly for Shew himself who was operating Plumbe's prestigious Boston gallery at the time.

Were you ever daguerreotyped, O immortal man? And did you look with all vigor at the lens of the camera, or rather, by direction of the operator, at the brass peg a little below it, to give the picture the full benefit of your expanded and flashing eye? and in your zeal not to blur the image, did you keep every finger in its place with such energy that your

hands became clenched as for fight or despair, and in your resolution to keep your face still, did you feel every muscle becoming every moment more rigid: the brows contracted into a Tartarean frown, and the eyes fixed as they are fixed in a fit, a madness, or in death?<sup>38</sup>

Regrettably, Shew's numerous daguerreotypes of the famous men of nineteenth-century America have been lost. Those on display in his gallery, including Emerson's, were destroyed after Shew's death at the time of the 1906 earthquake and fire.

Recognition of Shew's contributions to a nation's self-image remains only in an article published upon his death.

The Shew gallery was for decades of years the place where prominent people elected to have their photographs taken. The builders of the commonwealth sat to Shew. The poli-

ticians, the statesmen, the ministers, the lawyers, the physicians, the belles and beaux, the children and enfants found their way to him, and as a result the history of the State and city can be traced through his daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, photographs, collection of well-preserved wet plate negatives, and the enlarged portraits that have, through the years, graced the walls of his reception room.<sup>39</sup>

The same article also mentions that in Shew's last years, society people had sought younger, more fashionable photographers, although he was still patronized by merchants, residents of the nearby Chinatown, soldiers from the Presidio, and middle-class families.

Primarily a studio photographer, Shew ventured beyond San Francisco on only one documented occasion in his fifty-two-year career, perhaps because he was awaiting arrival of his first portable studio wagon being shipped by way of Cape Horn. Shew and his brother Jacob, who had returned to photography from the gold fields, joined the J. Wesley Jones Expedition shortly after William's arrival in San Francisco. In 1851 Jones set out to photograph the West from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi River. From a total of some 1500 daguerreotypes he commissioned artists to paint a huge "pantoscope" of the West, first exhibited in Boston in 1852. This invaluable collection, too, has been lost.<sup>40</sup>

Shew's involvement in the artistic and professional life of San Francisco can be explored primarily through his support of local photographic societies. By 1865 photographic establishments in the city centered on Montgomery Street, with some activity on Kearny and Market, where competing firms lined up door after door on the same block.

This competition and occasional outright antagonism led the city's working photographers to form the San Francisco Photographic Artists Association on August 5, 1866.<sup>41</sup> The Association, of which William Shew was named a trustee,<sup>42</sup> also sought to protect already established photographers from competition from the numerous new photographic businesses opening in the city.

Significantly, the association was listed under "Protective Societies" in the *City Directory* for 1867.<sup>43</sup>

The Association's preamble opened with a concise statement of purpose:

The photographic artists of San Francisco having long been convinced that they have been perverting what should be an honorary rivalry in business into what they feel to be a most ruinous antagonism, have resolved to abate the evil they all deplore. The object of the association is to establish such rules and regulations among the members of the art against the various abuses it at present labors under.<sup>44</sup>

Continuing on, the preamble emphasized the degradation of the art through price competition:

This honorable artistic profession . . . vitiates the public taste by making cheapness the test of excellence, and degrades the profession of the artist below that of the common day laborer.<sup>45</sup>

Apparently, rivalries could not be transcended by mere statements of agreement, for the city's first professional photographic society ceased to exist by 1868, and it was seven years later, in February, 1875, before a second photographic society was organized.<sup>46</sup>

Like the early organization, the new Photographic Art Society of the Pacific was established with economic motivations, primarily to resist imposition of a municipal tax on photographers as manufacturers.<sup>47</sup> Shew, also active in this society, was elected and re-elected treasurer.<sup>48</sup>

The association, however, apparently soon became embroiled in controversy and suffered a split in membership over an unknown issue which brought about its demise in 1878.<sup>49</sup> While William's involvement in these local associations indicates that he was a respected and vital part of the photographic community, no record exists of the probable exchange of ideas which took place between Shew and his colleagues, and it is difficult to assess the influence Shew may have had on his fellow photographers.





*A youthful General William Tecumseh Sherman was among Shew's famous patrons, but this handsome daguerreotype from 1853 has been lost.*

*"Were you ever daguerreotyped, O immortal man? . . . In your zeal not to blur the image, did you keep every finger in its place with such energy that your hands became clenched as for fight or despair . . . and the eyes fixed as they are fixed in a fit, a madness, or in death?"*

Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1841



*Shew's c.1865 half-plate ambrotype of a young girl reflected photography's experimentation with the new wet-plate glass negatives from which paper prints could be produced.*





*Jacob Shew's daguerreotypes, such as this half-plate ( $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ " ) of the young daughter of Serranus Clinton Hastings of the Hastings College of Law, were acclaimed at the 1860 Sacramento State Fair.*

*By 1869, when Jacob produced this charming family carte de visite ( $2\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ " ), he had again relocated in San Francisco near William.*



More is known about another important aspect of William Shew's professional as well as personal life, his relationship with his brother Jacob, who also became a prominent San Francisco photographer. By 1851 Jacob had forsaken gold-mining and returned to San Francisco to work as a daguerreotypist.<sup>50</sup> Five years later he left San Francisco for Sacramento and set up his own studio on J Street.<sup>51</sup>

Both Jacob and William exhibited their work at the 1860 State Fair in Sacramento with varying acclaim. A reviewer wrote that "Mr. [Jacob] Shew has a show case, a frame of beautifully executed specimens of the daguerreotype, an art almost become obsolete."<sup>52</sup> He dismissed William as displaying "some very creditable specimens of the art, but they are most all worked in India ink [rather than color-tinted] and, of course, cannot so well illustrate the progress of the art."<sup>53</sup>

Jacob returned to San Francisco in 1861, where he

worked as a clerk at the U.S. Branch Mint for a year<sup>54</sup> before joining William in his studio.<sup>55</sup> Moving on, in 1863 he associated with Charles Hamilton (William's old partner)<sup>56</sup> and by 1864 had his own gallery on Montgomery Street, one block from William.<sup>57</sup> In 1865 and again in 1867 he moved his gallery, and then settled back on Montgomery Street in 1872.<sup>58</sup> William in the meantime had moved to the more fashionable Kearny Street.

The Photographic Artists Association elected Jacob a trustee in 1866, the same year as William,<sup>59</sup> and by 1875 Jacob had become a prominent figure among San Francisco photographers. He was elected the first vice-president of the Photographic Society of the Pacific and president the next year.<sup>60</sup>

William and Jacob's respective positions in the emerging photographic community indicate some of the personal differences between the two brothers. Jacob was more gregarious than William and perhaps more re-



nowned. William's skill appears to have been sustained effort and detail, leading to success in business matters. While there is no record of William's participation in social clubs, Jacob was noted as being a member of the Knights of Pythias, the Templar Lodge (International Order of Odd Fellows), the Damon Lodge, and vice-president of the Society of California Pioneers. Though outgoing and social, Jacob never married.<sup>61</sup>

Along with his active social life, Jacob was distinguished from William by his wanderlust. Jacob's work and lifestyle evidenced a restless quality not apparent in William's. Although Jacob was younger by six years, it was he who traveled west with the Argonauts of '49, not as a daguerreotypist, but as a fortune-seeking gold miner. William, on the other hand, left for California to make his fortune at the trade he knew—photography. Once arrived, William remained in San Francisco for the rest of his life, while Jacob moved his home and business several times between Calaveras County, Sacramento, and San Francisco.

A reversal in Jacob's business occurred after a fire burned down his Montgomery Street gallery in 1878. When he reopened his studio on Market Street, his business was poor and, by his own report, very dull. Then, on February 3, 1879, Jacob shot himself in the head with a revolver.<sup>62</sup>

Every San Francisco paper covered Jacob's death, two of them with front-page articles. An impressive picture of his stature in the community emerges. The *Alta*, for instance, wrote:

Jacob Shew had a wide range of personal acquaintance and friendship in San Francisco. He was an intelligent man, active in mind, agreeable in manners, fond of company, and a member of many associations. His reputation as a citizen, a gentleman, and a business man was, so far as we have heard, without a stain. . . . Myron Shew testified that he never heard him make any threats against his life; he drank occasionally but never to excess; he complained of his business being dull, and the witness' impression was that the deceased was financially embarrassed.<sup>63</sup>

Much of the information concerning Jacob's suicide—his financial situation and his relationship with his family—is unknown. It is interesting to note, however, that Jacob was buried by the Templar Lodge rather than by his family.<sup>64</sup>

Whatever their personal differences, both William and Jacob were active in political issues of the day. Jacob served on the Republican State Central Committee for the election of Lincoln in 1860<sup>65</sup> and was later a member of the Ancient Order of the Druids, whose purpose was to bind the wounds between North and South after the Civil War.

William held the anti-slavery Free-Soil Convention of 1852 in his rooms on Montgomery Street.<sup>66</sup> While a majority of the party had returned to the Democratic fold by this year, William apparently had enough antipathy to the expansion of slavery into the territories to maintain his support for the Free-Soil Party. Having lived in Boston in 1848 when Frederick Douglass' autobiography was published by the Boston Abolition Society, William must have been exposed to the abolitionist fervor of the time. His portraits of David Broderick and Horace Greeley, both influential abolitionists, may thus take on an added significance.

However politically committed, William was nevertheless principally devoted to photography as “art,” and he considered himself foremost an “artist.” He expressed these views in an article on the history of photography which he wrote for *California Monthly Magazine* in 1854. In this article Shew shared a romantic and, at that time, popular view of the photograph:

The subject [photography] has a charming and romantic interest, growing out of the many pleasing associations connected with it. . . . This is especially the case with those, like most Californians, far distant from the hallowed associations of early life. . . . The son or brother as he gazes on the true,

*Actress Kate Bateman played to packed houses at the Jenny Lind Theatre in 1852, and her rival admirers must have envied Shew the private sitting which produced this daguerreotype.*



*Shew's half-plate daguerreotype (4½x5½") of "Newspaper Row" on Montgomery Street captures top-hatted businessmen (including, perhaps, Sam Brannan) posing in the sun with newspaper samples.*

reflected likeness of a revered parent, now no more, or of a loved sister, whom he has not seen for years . . . blesses the art that can thus immortalize their images. The subject, therefore, is one which, with us all, is consecrated as a tributary to our holiest affections.<sup>67</sup>

Although the article focused on the invention of the daguerreotype, some of the man Shew was revealed. Most notable were his conviction that it was not the customer who was always right and his belief in the superiority of photography in America over the state of the art in Europe:

Photography also commends itself to our attention for the unparalleled success which has attended its progress in this country—which has been so marked as almost to stamp it with a national character, for which, as Americans, we have just cause of feeling a laudable pride—it being the only branch of the fine arts in which we decidedly excel our European contemporaries.<sup>68</sup>

In this view, Shew echoed the remarks of New York *Tribune* editor Horace Greeley who exclaimed in 1851,

after America captured every gold medal awarded in daguerreotype at the Crystal Palace Exposition in London: "In daguerreotypes, we beat the world!"<sup>69</sup>

In his 1854 history of photography, Shew also took pains to distinguish between the fly-by-night, mechanical daguerreotypist and the artist:

Correct taste with the public, however, rapidly improved and they soon learned to distinguish between the beautiful productions of the true artist, and the miserable caricatures of the mere mechanical daguerreotypist. . . . In San Francisco this class are not to be found, owing to the liberal patronage of the public. . . . It is true that nearly three years since, the specimens at the doors of two or three establishments on Montgomery Street were graced with signs of "daguerreotypes for \$3;" but these were only the closing efforts of third or fourth-rate artists, none of whom now remains to discredit the art by their miserable pretensions.<sup>70</sup>

(Shew neglected to mention that "nearly three years since," he had himself advertised, "We make babies for \$3.00.")<sup>71</sup> William also stressed his preference for the





*The urge to be photographed moved people in all walks of life, including this woman of the church who visited Shew sometime before 1871 for a wet-plate card portrait (2½x4").*



*Tassles, colonnades, and a drape characterized Shew's wet-plate card photographs of the mid-1860 Montgomery Street studios.*



*Photography . . . [is] the  
only branch of the fine arts  
in which we decidedly  
excel our European  
contemporaries.*

William Shew, July, 1854



daguerreotype over the paper print: "They are not equal in appearance and beauty of finish to daguerreotypes, and probably never will become so."<sup>72</sup>

Two years later the discovery of the ambrotype, a wet-plate process, was announced in the *Alta*,<sup>73</sup> (although its actual invention had been accomplished in 1851). Wet-plate negatives, exposed and developed before the photographic chemicals had hardened, could be used to make numbers of paper prints, or could be transformed into a single, positive image called an ambrotype by placing the glass negative against a black background, because the dense areas of negative reflected light while the more transparent areas allowed the black backing to show through. Like the daguerreotype, the ambrotype was usually enclosed in a case; the ambrotype, however, did

not have the polish of the silver-plated daguerreotype nor its magical mirrored surface so revered by Shew.

In 1862, six years after the announcement of the ambrotype in San Francisco, Shew briefly acquiesced to progress and began calling his studio a "photographic," rather than a "daguerrian," gallery.<sup>74</sup> The next year, however, Shew returned to advertising as a "daguerrian" gallery but added that ambrotypes and card pictures were taken as well.<sup>75</sup>

*Carte de visite* or card photographs, exchanged among family and friends, became popular in the early 1860's and led to the appearance of the family album. Usually measuring 2½ x 4" in size, albums were made with recessed pockets in each leaf to hold and display the card photos. A new size was introduced in 1866 to stimulate





*Among Shew's customers were Fung Loud, who sat for Shew in 1887, and an unidentified woman. Their cabinet-size photographs were produced from dry plates available since the mid-1870's.*

business after the Civil War. This second size measured  $4 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ " and was called the cabinet photograph.<sup>76</sup>

Until 1873, when the dry plate became accessible on the open market, Shew made only wet plates—either the singular ambrotypes or the paper-printed card pictures. The soon-triumphant celluloid roll film became available in the late 1880's, but many photographers, undoubtedly including the traditional Shew, continued to use glass well into the twentieth century.

A final evaluation of William Shew's photographs, like those of most early photographers, is difficult. Representative daguerreotypes and ambrotypes are scattered between several public institutions<sup>77</sup> and private collectors, but no large number of his works are known. As well, early photographers often did not add any identi-

fying sign on their images, and the result is large numbers of "anonymous" daguerreotypes and ambrotypes in public collections. Further, most museum and library collections catalog their photographs by subject rather than by photographer. Photographer files contain photographs of people or places that are unidentifiable in any other way, and most photographers' images are thus inaccessible to the researcher.

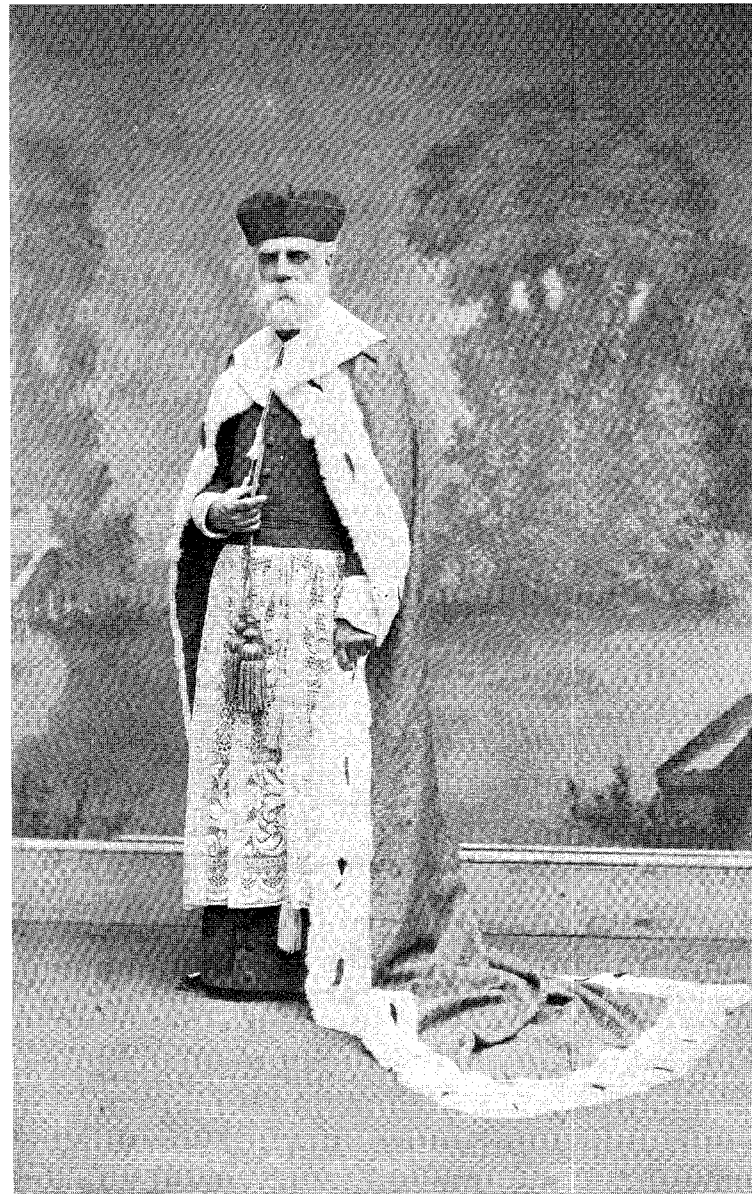
Of existing William Shew plates, perhaps the most well-known is the five-plate panoramic view of San Francisco taken in 1851 from Rincon Point and now held by the Smithsonian Institution. This photograph is reproduced in Beaumont Newhall's *The Daguerreotype in America*, and it shows ships cluttering the harbor, abandoned by men who had caught "gold fever."<sup>78</sup>



*The large image (4x5½") of the cabinet photograph, introduced after the Civil War, drew this composed San Francisco couple to Shew's studio.*



*Dressed as Cardinal Richelieu in 1880 for an author's carnival held in the pavilion at Eighth and Market streets, Shew posed for his own camera in this cabinet-size portrait.*





As for Shew's many portraits, they are extremely simple in approach. He utilized direct frontal lighting and either moved close to his subject without props or stood back for a full view. In the custom of the time he often added a round, covered table or a chair and drape as visual props. He seemed to favor an ornate drape with an elaborate tassel for portraits, and the same marble stand also shows in many of his card pictures. Occasionally, a painted backdrop appears as well. His early daguerreotypes are as simple as the card pictures and rarely show evidence of the popular color tinting.

Some observations can be made about the relationship of Shew's work to the photographic world around him. In the fifty-two years that Shew photographed in San Francisco, many photographers moved in and out of his world. Carleton Watkins, perhaps the most famous photographer of early California, moved his studio next to Shew in 1865.<sup>79</sup> Watkins, most noted for his work in Yosemite and the Sierra Nevada, named his gallery the "Yosemite Art Gallery." Eadweard Muybridge, significant for his early landscape work and later sequential studies of human and animal movement, also began working on Montgomery Street in the 1860's.<sup>80</sup> I.W. Taber launched his successful business across from the Palace Hotel in 1871.<sup>81</sup> By 1900 Arnold Genthe, famous for his studies of San Francisco's Chinatown, operated a studio on Grant Avenue.<sup>82</sup>

In the face of this constant influx of new creative energy and talent, William's work appears to have been unchanged and consistently his own. He never took advantage of the mobility gained by the introduction of the dry plate in 1873, and while others moved out into the streets and traveled throughout the West, William remained singularly focused on the studio portrait.

Perhaps this devotion to traditional methods at a time

when photographic techniques developed rapidly explains why William Shew's death on February 5, 1903, passed without notice. Not until three months later, on May 3, did a newspaper article eulogize the prominent California pioneer.

After his death, Annie Shew, his second wife, took over the studio, listing herself as "photographer" in the 1904 *City Directory*.<sup>83</sup> Two years later the 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed the row of photographic studios on Kearny Street, and all Shew's intact glass negatives and business records were lost. Annie Shew continued to live in San Francisco (sometimes listing herself as "artist" in the directory) until her death in 1930. Her legacy of \$300 was barely enough to cover the costs of lawyer and burial.<sup>84</sup>

William Shew is buried in Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland. There are no gravestones on the plot, nor markings of any sort, with the exception of his daughter's married name, Meade, engraved in the border marking the family gravesite.

The photograph on pages 2-3 is courtesy the Exchange National Bank of Chicago; on pages 13, 15, and 16, courtesy the CHS Library; on pages 6, 7, 9, and 13, courtesy The Bancroft Library; and on 10, 14, and 16, courtesy Joan Murray. The Sherman and Bateman portraits were reproduced in *Camera Craft*, July, 1902.

## Notes

1. Terry Mangan, *Colorado on Glass: Colorado's First Half-Century As Seen By the Camera*, 385 (Denver: Sundance, 1975).
2. Richard Rudisill, *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society*, 120 (Albuquerque: New Mexico Press, 1971). A discussion of the cultural-social impact of the daguerreotype on nineteenth-century America is contained in this text.
3. Beaumont Newhall, *The Daguerreotype in America*, 85 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1961).
4. The mail steamer *Tennessee* made many voyages to San Francisco via Panama. On March 6, 1853, the *Tennessee* went ashore at Tagus Beach, Bolinas Bay, in a dense fog. Six hundred passengers escaped unhurt, but the ship was abandoned. Frank Soule, *The Annals of San Francisco*, 434 (New York: Appleton & Co., 1854).
5. "Ships Arrived," *Alta California*, March 5, 1851, p. 2.



6. W. H. Hutchinson, *California: Two Centuries of Man, Land and Growth in the Golden State*, 109, 120 (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).
  7. "Daguerreotypes Taken by Lady," *Alta California*, January 29, 1850, p. 2.
  8. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1850, p. 134.
  9. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1852, p. 53.
  10. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1850, p. 17.
  11. *Ibid*, p. 30.
  12. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 86.
  13. "Daguerreotypes of San Francisco," *Alta California*, January 19, 1851, p. 2.
  14. *San Francisco City Directory*, September, 1852, p. 110.
  15. Alan Bowman, *Index to the 1850 Census of the State of California*, 114 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1972).
  16. William Shew was nearly eighty-three years old at his death on February 5, 1903. Certificate of Death, Department of Public Health, San Francisco.
  17. O. V. Lange, "A Portrait Photographer For More Than Half a Century in San Francisco," *Camera Craft*, 5 (July, 1902):101. No Shews are recorded in the 1810 or 1820 census in Jefferson or any nearby counties; nor is there any reference to a Shew family in any of the county histories researched.
- The family name Shew appears in New York in the first census of the United States in 1790 and again in 1800. In 1790 an Augustine Shew is listed in Albany County as the head of a household. There is also listed an Andrew Shew in New York City. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*, 27, 130 (U.S. Census Office, Washington Government Printing Office, 1903).
18. Lange, "A Portrait Photographer," 101-102.
  19. Rudisill, *Mirror Image*, 145.
  20. William Shew's first studio in Boston was at 60½ Cornhill Street in 1844. He later moved to 16 Haskins' Building. William is listed as a "miniature case maker" through the 1847-48 *Boston Directory*. From 1848 through 1851 he is listed, along with Myron Shew, as a "daguerreotypist" at 123 Washington Street. Jack Jackson, of the Library of The Boston Athenaeum, to author, October 14, 1975.
  21. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 128.
  22. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1852, p. 54.
  23. "Marriages," *Alta California*, November 11, 1858, p. 2.
  24. From 1862 through 1867, Laura Shew resided with Jacob Shew at 732 Bush Street; from 1867 to 1873, at 314 Bush Street; and from 1874-1885, at 620 Fourteenth Street, Oakland. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1862-1865.
  25. Myron was employed with William in 1865, 1868-72, and 1887. He was listed with the U. S. Custom House in 1874. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1865, 1868-72, 1874, 1887.
  26. Louis Rasmussen, *San Francisco Ship Passengers List*, 4:83 (Colma, Ca: San Francisco Historic Records, 1970).
- William Shew is listed as a passenger on the ship *California* arriving via Panama on July 28, 1852. The error in this listing could well be that the passenger was a Mrs. William Shew.
27. On July 29, 1879, Theodora (or Dora, as she was called) married Calvert Meade, an insurance adjuster at the Union Insurance Company in San Francisco. Marriage license for Calvert Meade and Theodora Shew, Book F, p. 317 (microfilm), Alameda County Courthouse.
- William Shew's only grandchild, Edith Dora Meade, died at age six on October 11, 1889, of typhoid. Shew's wife also died the same day. Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland. Company records for Plot 25, n. 204 bought by Calvert Meade in 1890. Also, Register of Deaths, October, 1889, Department of Public Health, San Francisco.
- Death records show that Elisabeth was residing with her son-in-law and had been a resident of Alameda County for eleven years, since her daughter's marriage.
28. Dora Shew Meade died on March 18, 1904, at the age of fifty-six. Calvert, her husband, died on June 1, 1919, leaving a second wife, Grace Sawyer Meade. The Shew name ends with the death of Annie Shew in 1930; related family and descendants end with the death of son-in-law Calvert's second wife, Grace Meade, in 1943. Certificate of Death, Annie Shew, 1930, No. 529, Department of Public Health, San Francisco. Also, Probate Records, Calvert Meade's will, 1919, n. 26137, Alameda County Courthouse.
  29. Lange, "Portrait Photographer," 103.
  30. "Daguerreotype Drawings," *Alta California*, October 6, 1851, p. 2.
  31. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1852, p. 132.
  32. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1863, p. 327.
  33. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1874, p. 811.
  34. *San Francisco City Directory*, January, 1856, p. 92.
  35. *San Francisco City Directory*, October, 1856, p. 57.
  36. The most complete account of Shew's patronage appears in "The First Photographer in San Francisco and Some of His Early-Day Patrons," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1903, Sunday Supplement, p. 4. Shew photographs of the following people illustrate the *Chronicle* article: Edward Baker, Thomas Starr King, David C. Broderick, Captain John A. Sutter, Jacob Primer Leese, Ralph Emerson, and a drawing of Shew's movable gallery.
- Other patrons mentioned in the article include: John Nugent (editor of the *Herald*), George Hyde, General Scott, merchant N. G. Kittle, Alexander Bladwin, the Palaches, the Vanderwaters, John Parrott, Dr. and Mrs. McNulty, Forbes, Castle, Shafter, Dewey, Maynard, McAllister, Judge Currey, Dwinell, Walkenshaw, Sawyer, Hoffman, Thorton, Fred Macondray, Casserly, and Judge Haight.
37. For further discussion of Emerson, Transcendentalism, and the daguerreotype, see Rudisill, *Mirror Image*.



38. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals 1841-1844*, pp. 100-101 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911).
39. "First Photographer in San Francisco," 40.
40. Rudisill, *Mirror Image*, 146.
41. "Photographic Artists Association," *Alta California*, August 5, 1866, p. 1.
42. "Photographic Artists Association," *Alta California*, August 7, 1866, p. 1. The Association's officers were Silas Selleck, president; Alexander Edouart, vice president; William Rulofson, treasurer; trustees: W. Shew, Hamilton, J. Shew, Woods, Oleson, Wright, Chalmers, Dickenson, G. H. Johnson, Tidball, Ayer, Rowell.
43. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1867, p. 681.
44. "Photographic Artists Association," 1.
45. *Ibid.*
46. "Photographic Art Society," *Alta California*, March 4, 1876, p. 1.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.* The original officers of the Association, as listed in the *City Directory*, 1875, p. 995, were: Thomas Houseworth, president; George Reeman, secretary; William Shew, treasurer.
49. *Ibid.*
50. California State Census, 1852.
51. *Sacramento City Directory*, 1857-58, p. 86; 1858-59, p. 65; 1859-60, p. 104.
52. "State Fair: Fine Arts," *Sacramento Democrat*, September, 1860; article in a family scrapbook at the California Historical Society, San Francisco.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1861, p. 306.
55. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1862, p. 352.
56. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1863, p. 327.
57. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1864, p. 360.
58. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1872, p. 591.
59. "Photographic Artists Association," *Alta California*, August 7, 1866, p. 1.
60. "Photographic Art Society," *Alta California*, March 4, 1876, p. 1.
61. "Jacob Shew," *Alta California*, February 4, 1879, p. 2.
62. "Suicide of Jacob Shew," *Morning Call*, February 4, 1879, p. 4.
63. "Jacob Shew," 1-2.
64. "Funeral Notice," *Alta California*, February 8, 1879, p. 2.
65. Jacob Shew's name appears on the stationery of the Republican State Central Committee for the presidential campaign of 1860. California Historical Society.
66. *Bay of San Francisco: The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and its Suburban Cities*, 2:13 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1892).
67. William Shew, "Photography," *California Monthly Magazine*, 2 (July, 1854):34.
68. *Ibid.*, 35.
69. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 11.
70. Shew, "Photography," 37.
71. Therese Heyman, *Mirror of California*, 23 (Oakland: The Oakland Museum, 1973).
72. Shew, "Photography," 40.
73. "City Items," *Alta California*, January 25, 1856, p. 2.
74. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1862, p. 352.
75. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1863, p. 327.
76. Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889*, p. 139, 323. (New York: Dover Publications, 1964).
77. The major public holders of Shew photographs are the Bancroft Library and the California Historical Society. No other public collections with a substantial body of either William or Jacob Shew's work has been located.
78. Newhall, *Daguerreotype in America*, 85.
79. Ralph Andrews, *Picture Gallery Pioneers*, 47 (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1964).
80. *Ibid.*, 63.
81. *Ibid.*, 69.
82. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1900, p. 703.
83. *San Francisco City Directory*, 1904, p. 1687.
84. Probate Records, Annie Shew's will, 1930, San Francisco Hall of Records. In her handwritten, one-paragraph will Annie leaves everything to a Michael Samuels, residing in Oakland. Four people are listed in the probate records as claiming some relationship to Annie Shew: Mary Hebard LePage, Littlerock, California; Mrs. Churchwell, Littlerock, California; C. F. Hebard, Madison, New Jersey; and Mrs. E. S. Leorrard, Oakland. None of these relations was readily traceable.

# Basha Singerman

Basha Singerman is an eighty-three-year-old Russian immigrant who arrived in Petaluma, California, in 1915 and, with her husband Shimon, took up chicken farming. "Basha Singerman" is not her real name, but she is a real "Comrade of Petaluma," one of many Petaluman Jews who have recalled their life stories and experiences to oral historians Zelda Bronstein and Kenneth Kann.

"The Comrades of Petaluma" is an ongoing oral history of a Jewish socialist chicken farming community. One hundred and fifty taped interviews, collected between 1973 and 1977, record the changing experiences of one California immigrant community through three generations and three-quarters of a century. While the history of the Petaluma Jewish community reveals experiences central to all immigrants in America—the creation of a community, the dilemma of interaction with a broader society, and the problems of community continuity and ethnic identity in the second and third generations—the story of the Petaluma Jews is exceptional because of their active and diverse cultural organizations, their unique agricultural base, and their extraordinary community cohesion.

Petaluma, a town of 30,000 people located forty miles north of San Francisco, was once a thriving western poultry center. Jewish chicken farmers co-existed with other immigrant chicken-farming communities—German, Swedish, Italian, and Japanese. Early in the century,

chicken ranching had required little initial capital outlay, and Petaluma's Eastern European Jewish pioneers were attracted to family farming as an escape from brutal urban workplaces or through an ideological commitment to Jewish agricultural life. The community's spoken history has it that Sam Messner established Petaluma's first Jewish chicken ranch in 1903, and by 1925 a community of more than 100 Jewish chicken-ranching families thrived in the rural Northern California locale.

Community social life centered around the Jewish Community Center, which was built in 1925. There, the tiny *shul* (synagogue) for the religious, a wide variety of political and literary and fraternal organizations, a library, holiday and social gatherings, and educational programs brought the community together and displayed the diversity and richness of the local Jewish culture. Political commitments ran deep, and the Petaluma Jews were alternately united and divided by a volatile political life. Tensions generated in the 1930's by the outcome of the Russian Revolution and in the 1950's by the Cold War strained community solidarity, and when the corporation displayed the family farm as the basic unit of the poultry business in the 1950's, the Petaluma Jews underwent a major economic reorientation. Since that time, their town has become increasingly suburban in character. The newcomers who have swelled the Jewish community to 200 families have added yet another dimension to local Jewish culture. Interest grows in building a temple and securing a full-time rabbi.

The following interview with "Basha Singerman," a shortened version of the full transcript to appear in a forthcoming book, records the spirit of cooperation and cultural cohesion, the shared hardships and joys that characterized the Petaluma Jewish socialist chicken-farming community in its first decades. □

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Ms. Bronstein is a granddaughter of two of Petaluma's earliest Jewish chicken ranchers. She is a graduate student in American Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Mr. Kann has completed a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, on immigration and the working classes in the United States. He now lives in Petaluma.

The names of individuals mentioned in the interview have been changed to protect the privacy of living Petalumans.



# Comrade of Petaluma



WHEN WE CAME to Petaluma I couldn't speak any English at all. Hardly any. . . . When I was in Africa I learned a few words. I didn't go to school there because in Nairobi they had no school. So when we came here I wanted to learn the English language and I started to go to school. I took up English and my teacher said to me, "Being that you were in East Africa, I would like you to write an essay on your trip to East Africa."

And I did. This is the essay. [Begins to read the essay:]

On a picturesque night I passed the Suez Canal. Its beauty was beyond description. . . .

You want to know how I got to East Africa? That is a story! I was born in Minsk, the capital of White Russia, in 1894. Minsk was one of the ghetto cities for the Jewish people. There were cities where Jews were not allowed to live . . . like in Moscow, in Kiev, in Petroberg [Leningrad]. Before I left, the population of Minsk was about 100,000—about 75,000 Jews and 25,000 non-Jews.

I was the only one in the family who craved for education. I was born with it. I went to a full-time Jewish school when I was six years old. School in Old Russia was not like in the Soviet Union, with compulsory education for all. At that time in Tsarist Russia they admitted a

*Combining new chicken-raising and kale-gardening skills, Basha and Shimon worked on this chicken ranch until 1922.*





Before leaving Minsk in 1913, Basha (in light skirt) posed with her sister for a charming, if somehow sad, portrait.

4 per cent quota of Jewish children to a high school. I was one of the 4 per cent who went to high school, because I had a teacher in our house. There were teachers who taught Jewish children without money. They were students. They were idealists. They wanted Jewish people to get some education, so they gave free lessons to Jewish children.

I put in an application for a government junior high school when I was eight years old. I passed the examinations 100 per cent, and I was admitted. I took up Russian language and Russian literature and mathematics and history. They had two monks who taught religion class to the non-Jewish children; then we would go out for an hour.

I was there for four years and I was one of the best. There [pointing to the wall] is a picture of the graduation group. I was so ambitious! I wanted to go to *gymnasium*—*gymnasium* means high school—after junior high school. They didn't admit Jewish children, but you could study

at home and then go through an *exthernichatch*—an examination—to pass higher grades. A student taught me for higher education a little, I studied at home, and I graduated from high school. Then I entered a book-keeping college.

The bookkeeping college was a two-year college. I graduated in 1907—I still have my diploma. Then I went to work in a general store, one of the biggest in Minsk. Small shopkeepers from all over Minsk and all the little towns came to buy things. There were over a hundred salesmen and twenty bookkeepers—among the twenty I was one girl. The owner was a Jewish millionaire. And he was a despot... boy was he a despot! When the Revolution broke out, everything was taken from him. He ran away to Poland and then in 1939 the Nazis killed him off.

At the time I was working, if I had five rubles a week I was a rich girl. We went through hunger, plenty of it. I was in a bookkeepers' union and we used to have meetings. We were grownups: sixteen, seventeen-year-old boys and girls were grownups at that time.

I belonged to other organizations, people's organizations. We were progressives. We were all revolutionaries. You see, Lenin's party was called *Iskra* at that time. *Iskra* is "spark." And I belonged to *Iskra*. It's gone already.

Just before I left Minsk, some of my friends gave me a farewell party. The police came in—you were not allowed to gather, especially students. This was in 1913. They came in and searched us. They took away everything and they arrested two of the young men. Then they went to search each and everyone's house. They didn't find anything at my house. My father was sick then and I thought it was better not to keep anything there. The police were terrible. They were terrible. They were afraid of the young people—especially the people who were more or less educated—that they would become revolutionaries and want to overthrow the Tsar.

This was a terrible time for me, a terrible time. I was leaving Minsk to go to Africa. The brother of my future



husband was the head salesman in the store where I worked. I was very good friends with his family, but his brother I didn't know. I heard about him. He was in Africa and he wanted his family to come and settle. He had land and he had built a house.

This future brother-in-law of mine, he went to Africa—Kenya! When he came, there were twenty Jewish families and no Jewish girls. So when he arrived in Nairobi he said to his brother, "I have a wonderful girl for you." He was the one who made the *shidoch* [match] between my husband and me. He wrote me a letter and he proposed it to me that I should come to Africa and if I didn't like it I'll be able to go back.

I showed the letter from Africa to my father and I asked him. He read the letter and he said, "Go, my daughter, because I cannot do a thing for you anymore." He felt that he was dying and two weeks later he died. He was forty-nine years old.

I had a young man in Minsk. We were in love, but he did something to me which I didn't like and we quarreled. We parted, and I decided to go, just in spite of the one that I loved.

When I left Minsk, my sweetheart came to the railroad station to say goodby to me. He gave me a package, a present. When I took apart my luggage in Africa, I found this package with two books. One was *Writers and Poets*, a book of Russian writers and poets. And in this book I found these two little cards. I still have them. He said to me: "Basha (you know, in Russian they called me Basha)—*Prosti za vse*—forgive me for everything. *Derniz*—come back. *Yesli Sthchalevo boodesh islikotich*—write, if you have a desire. Boris."

I did not write to him. I was married already. I made up my mind. My husband was a wonderful man. When I came to Africa my future husband came to the boat at Mombasa to meet me. He looked so young! He was twenty years older than I. I wasn't quite nineteen and he was close to thirty-nine. He looked like a young man of twenty-four. He was highly educated and cultured. He

knew many languages and besides he was a talmudist. At the same time he was an ordinary man . . . he didn't blow about his knowledge. So . . . at last I fell in love with him.

My husband came to East Africa in 1906, about eight years before I came. In 1904 or 1905 England offered East Africa—the Kenya Colony—to the Jewish people as a homeland. The Zionist leaders refused to accept this because they wanted Palestine. But for a couple of years there was a great big sign as soon as you entered Nairobi: "Jewish Reserve." If the Zionist leaders had accepted this as a Jewish homeland, the Jewish people would have been a thousand times worse off than they are in Israel with the Arabs. In Israel they had a claim and in Africa they had no claim. The natives of Kenya would have killed every last Jew.

My husband was in one of the first groups who came to Kenya after the British offered it to the Jewish people. He was with a group of students. He wanted the Jewish people to settle on the land and become productive citizens and productive farmers. By profession my husband was a building engineer, but he was born with a desire to work on the land. The ground was his heart and soul.

The British government took the best land away from the natives and drove them deeper and deeper into the woods. Very rich people from England and Germany got thousands and thousands of acres of land. It's an immense country, Kenya. The British government gave my husband's group of young men thousands of acres of land. Free! You had to show when you came in that you had 200 English pounds. A pound was \$5.00 . . . who had 200 pounds? But one young man in the group did. He stood first at the window and showed the 200 pounds. Then he handed it to the next one, and each to another. That's how they were granted land.

As soon as a white man came the natives looked at you and named you in their language. I learned a little of the Kikuyu language. My father-in-law, he was a very religious man. He used to *dovin* [pray] every morning. They called him *Vongoy*. *Vongoy* has to do with God.



My husband they named *Margoo*. *Margoo* is a judge. They had quarrels between their families, with all their wives, so with all their troubles they would come to him. He spoke the Kikuyu language fluently. They would tell him all about their troubles and he would solve their problems in a nice and human way. There were rickshaws in Nairobi but not once did he ride in a rickshaw. He considered it below human dignity that a human being should carry him. My husband was heart and soul for the natives. He not only sympathized with them, but he felt it was unjust on the part of England to colonize.

My husband had a cattle ranch there. He had a dairy, with over 200 milking cows. The natives worked for him, but he paid them and they just loved him. The Negroes would get up at three o'clock in the morning to milk the cows. My husband would go with them. He was always milking.

When I came to Africa I was tall and I was thin. I was a pretty good-looking girl. I was nineteen years old. So they named me *Matasia*. *Matasia* is a young, straight tree, a beautiful tree that grows tall and straight.

After I was there for a few months we got married. A white woman there was superior . . . a godsend. There the white women don't do a thing. If you go out to buy a loaf of bread, then you have to have a little boy with you . . . a Negro boy. He is to carry your bundle or else you'll be looked upon like a wild one. The white women have nothing to do there. In the beginning I thought, I'll go insane, but then I adapted myself.

I was happy with my new husband there, but I was lonely, I was so lonely! Kenya was a new country; it was a wilderness actually. We lived seven miles from town on a farm, just my husband and I. I was lonely for my friends and family. Over 200 people came to the railroad station when I left Minsk. Minsk was a big city . . . at home I had a cultural life.

There were twenty Jewish families when I came but none of them—none of them—were progressives. There were a few homes built and a little town already. They

were friendly, but they were playing cards all the time, and we don't. My husband never played cards and neither do I. They play cards here too . . . even the progressive friends play cards here. But I don't know how to and I'm not interested in it. I would rather sit down and read something good and know what is going on.

I was in Africa for eleven months. Terrible diseases broke out among the cattle and my husband was losing twenty and thirty a day. He knew I was very unhappy there. One day my husband says to me, "I am going to sell all the cows that we have and let's go." He wanted to go to Canada, to Montreal. He was getting a Jewish newspaper from New York, and in this newspaper they described the life of the Jewish farmer not far from Montreal. It was ideal. They had their own cultural events and they were not far from the city. They were cultured people.

We sailed to Paris, where my husband had an uncle, and then we went to Montreal. My husband told the people at the British Embassy that he is looking for a cattle ranch and they gave him the name of a real estate man. When he took my husband out to show him the Jewish farms, it was actually boardinghouses. The poor Jewish people of Montreal—every summer they would go away to a boardinghouse to be in the country for a couple of months. Instead of Jewish farms near Montreal, there were boardinghouses for Jewish people!

He was ready to go back to Africa, but he met a *landsman* [countryman] who told him to go to California, to San Francisco. I didn't know about that. I was very unhappy because I was lonesome for my friends and family I left in Minsk. I was lonely. But whatever he said, it was so.

We decided to go to California. Being that my older sister lived in St. Louis, I said that we must go see her. So we went by train to St. Louis. My sister had a little grocery store and in the back of the store she had two little rooms. My husband put a white apron on and he became the chief salesman in the store. Everyone liked him, but





he wanted to become a farmer, a cattle rancher. We left for California, for San Francisco.

His *landsman* gave him an address of a Jewish family in San Francisco. So when we came we went straight to these people. From San Francisco, real estate agents began to take him out—to Ukiah, to Eureka, up north. Once the agent brought us up to Willits, about a hundred miles north from Petaluma. At that time Willits was such a dirty town. It wasn't paved. It was raining and it was just miserable. It was the most horrible town I ever saw.

The cattle ranch was seven or eight miles away from town. The agent took us out to show us the ranch. What do I know about a cattle ranch? But it was seven miles away from town . . . if you were looking for a house you couldn't see it for miles.

I didn't say a word, but the deal didn't materialize. Not because of me. They could not agree on the price of two horses the farmer wanted to sell with the ranch. Finally my husband said, "In that case, let's leave."

When we returned from Willits toward San Francisco the train stopped in Petaluma for an hour or so. The agent had showed my husband the chicken houses in Petaluma and he wanted me to see. We went out of the train and it was so beautiful! It was in November. It was such a sunny day and everything was so white. A great big hen was sitting in a great big basket of eggs on a sign, and it said "The Egg Basket of the World."

In comparison with Willits, oh my God, it was paradise. So I said to my husband, "Shimon, right here we are going to remain!"



This was in 1915. We remained. We rented an apartment and we went to look for chicken ranches. My husband wanted to have a cattle ranch. He didn't like the chickens. He said, "Oh, you have to bend to every chicken and keep on bending." But I wanted to stay in Petaluma and to buy a chicken ranch right here. I was determined. Before I didn't say anything, but here I was determined. I liked the chicken ranch much better because we were close to a community.

There were three Jewish families in Petaluma when we came. One of them—Horowitz—he was a crook. He was terrible. He wanted to make a few dollars commission from us. He was helping us to find a ranch, and he said he didn't care which one we would buy. Horowitz began to talk to my husband that he should buy a five-acre ranch that a neighbor of his wanted to sell. My husband didn't like this place. He saw other ranches that he liked. That crook Horowitz made nothing of the other ranches. He said, "I want you as a neighbor."

So we bought that ranch. When we came to the lawyer's to make out the papers, Horowitz was there too. My husband said, "What are you doing here?"

He didn't answer. Then it came out that the seller offered him 2½ per cent commission for the sale. Well, my husband didn't say anything. When everything was through he came over to my husband and wanted to shake hands. So my husband says, "A thief and a crook! I will not give you my hand and I do not want to look at you anymore!"

Horowitz made 2½ per cent commission and that's why he wanted us to buy that rotten place. It was only a fence between our ranch and his ranch, but we had nothing to do with him while we were there. We just hated that ranch. We stayed on it for a couple of years and then we sold it.

Within a period of six years, a Jewish population settled in Petaluma of about 100 families. My husband brought Jewish families here. He wanted to take Jewish people who worked in the sweatshops of big cities and

bring them here. Shimon possessed vision and ideals. He saw in Petaluma a place where Jews could settle on the land and begin to lead a healthy, dignified life. He realized that here is where Jewish people could do productive work and make a nice respectable living.

My husband had a *landsman* of his in San Francisco, his name was Abe Mizner. They both came from a city in White Russia—Borosov was the name of the city—it was in the Minsk area. So they knew each other from home. My husband told Abe Mizner that he wants to bring Jewish people here that they should settle. Abe Mizner gave him names and addresses of *landsmen* in the East. My husband wrote direct to these people that they should come to Petaluma and he would help them go into business. And they came, a few families came.

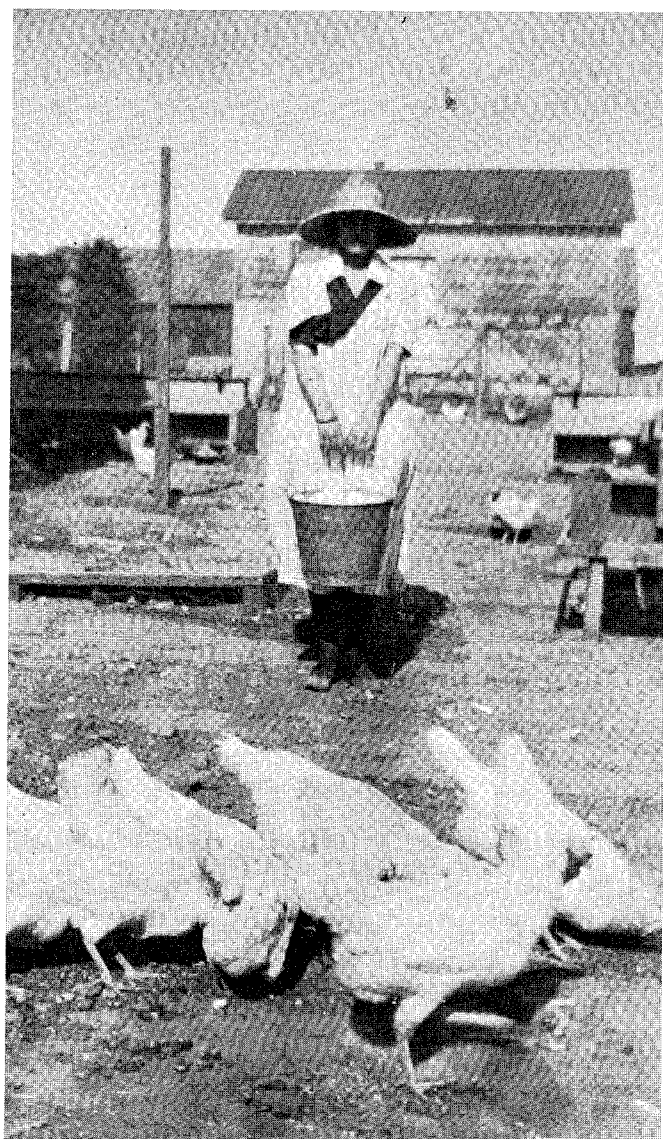
They didn't come all at one time. They came gradually. When one or two people came and they had only a few dollars, my Shimon and I welcomed them all. Even people we didn't know came. They went to the bank and they asked for help. So the bank manager would send them to us and they would stay with us for weeks. We didn't even know them. We would take them out to look for a ranch. If they would buy a place, my husband would go with them to the bank and to a feed store. He had very good credit in Petaluma. He would sign a note for them for about \$1000 or \$2000.

One group of young men came to Petaluma from Berkeley before the war. They were from Palestine originally. They came to Petaluma to work on the chicken ranches. So, to work on a chicken ranch who did they come to? They came to the Singermans, naturally! And we became very dear friends with one of them. His name was Meneuchen—Louis Meneuchen.

At the time of the First World War, in 1917, he wanted to go fight against Germany. He said, any human being that has any dignity and consideration for mankind should go and fight against Germany. Because if Germany should win then it will be an end to the world. So he wanted to be a soldier in the American army, but he



*Working with live chickens was new and hard. Still, it was better than life in the big city sweatshops.*



was flat-footed and he wasn't accepted. So what did he do? He went to Palestine and he joined the Jabotinsky Battalion [a Jewish Zionist brigade which fought in Palestine under the British during World War I].

He was a man, I am telling you! Well, he met a young girl and they got married and they came to Petaluma after the war. So, who should they come to? To the Singermans, naturally! They lived with us for awhile and then they bought a ranch. My husband helped them out.

Louis Meneuchen is Yehudi Menuhin's uncle. We were friends with Yehudi's parents. They used to come up. Yehudi was four years old—with his little violin.

In the early days the whole Jewish community became like a family, like one big family. We used to go every Sunday, all of us, to the Russian River. We got up earlier in the morning to feed the chickens, and if we fed them an hour later in the afternoon it didn't matter. Whoever had a car or a truck filled it up with people. We would bring our lunches and spread long tables there. They had room at Rio Nido and Monte Rio. We would go swimming—that's where I learned how to swim.

We used to come to one another's in the evenings. Every Friday we would have a cultural gathering, mostly at our house, but occasionally at someone else's house. We would discuss current events and books. I used to bake cakes and cookies—did I have spreads! They used to call our house "Singerman's Hotel."

My husband, being that he was a building engineer, built a gorgeous house for us in 1922. He made the specifications and planned everything. Other people built it, but we helped. We had a gorgeous 20 x 20' dining room. The living room was 16 x 18'—it was open on both sides. We had two bedrooms, a big kitchen, and a pantry. It was an immense house. At that time it was the most beautiful house in Petaluma. It was open to everybody from the day it was built.

We lived just like one family then. Regardless of ideological differences—and there were plenty of ideo-





logical differences—each and every one had his own ideology. In 1925 we built a Community Center. There was no money for building a Center, so Mrs. Ziff and Mrs. Rubin and a few others got a loan. Mrs. Haas in San Francisco gave the money for the first mortgage. Every one of us wanted to have a Jewish Center.

Working with live chickens was new and hard. Still it was better than life in the big city sweatshops. These people became chicken farmers and paid off their debts. Then they brought friends of theirs who came without money. Their credit was good already and they helped the new people who came here without money.

When we came to Petaluma most of the chicken ranchers had layers. The chickens were called white leg-horns. When we bought our chicken ranch there were about 1500 layers on the ranch. There was a man who used to raise pullets and at the age of three months he would sell them to us. They started to lay at about six months. Then we would keep these layers until two-and-a-half or three years. Every year we would sell the older birds and take in new pullets, because the old hens stopped laying. This was from 1915 to 1949.

We first learned from the neighbors. They used to come over and show us what to do. When we first came to Petaluma a neighbor of ours went to the newspaper, the *Argus*, and she wrote a long article called "The Invasion of the Jews in Petaluma." And I'm telling you, this article, it was terrible. But many of our neighbors, non-Jews, came after she wrote this anti-Semitic article. They showed us how to feed the chickens and how to plow and how to plant.

We worked very hard. At that time we had to plant kale, thousands and thousands of plants, because in the feed from the feed store there was no green stuff. Every three months we planted another patch of three thousand green seeds. This was kale.

At six o'clock in the morning my husband would get up, hitch the horse to the wagon, and pick a full wagon of kale. He would cut it on the electric kale-cutter, and then he would mix it with grain in an electric mixer. He would make a full mixer with mash and we would fill up five-gallon cans. About seven o'clock in the morning we would feed the chickens with it.

My husband built troughs so that a whole row opened



*Neighbors assisted Basha in learning how to keep white leghorns laying eggs, a sunup to sundown task. Photo c.1924.*

up with one pull. He would have the mash on his sled-wagon and he would give a can for each yardful. We kept 300 chickens in a house. They were called colony houses then.

At twelve o'clock we would go collect the first crop of eggs in each house. We had to clean the eggs. We had an egg room. My husband would clean the eggs with a little motor, an electric motor, and I cleaned with an emery cloth brush.

After we cleaned and packed the eggs, we would go into the house. We would have lunch and then we would rest. Until four o'clock we would rest. Then my husband would go out, cut the kale, and we would feed the chickens again with the kale and grain. And then we would go back the second time to collect the eggs.

It was very hard work, very hard work. It was hard work with the livestock, with the chickens. But we didn't mind it. My husband and I, both of us, we just loved it! We loved the work! My husband would plow up a big piece of land and with my bare hands I would dig and plant. We would make a big beautiful vegetable garden. And then we told all our friends, "Please come and help yourself."

When the layers got older we sold them to a chicken dealer. You had to be careful with chicken dealers. There was a man by the name of Zipkin, Eli Zipkin. He is not here anymore—he went to Los Angeles and he died. Oh, he was terrible! He was the greatest thief. When they would get the chickens, they used to come with a great big truck with coops on the truck. They would come in the evening when the chickens were on the roost. My husband would pick up the chickens from the roost and hand them to me. I would count every chicken. I would give it to him, to Eli Zipkin. He would count it and put it in the coop. So, instead of six chickens he would say five. And I would say, "Oh no! You put six chickens in. It was six!" And he would take out the whole bunch and count it again. And it was six. You see, you had to watch them.

Yitzhak Meyer had a brother who lived in Petaluma for many years. They used to deal with chickens—and we used to sell the old chickens to them. I don't think the Meyers were that bad. Maybe with others they were, but not with us. And besides, Meyer's brother was a more or less cultured man, an educated man. He would come, to my husband, and they would talk about the Bible and the *talmud* and about many things.

We would all come together in the homes, especially our home, once a week at least in the 1930's. Naturally, it was progressive people. We would talk about books and current events and things. Everybody was well-read here—Hochman, Sol Levin, many of our friends. We would spend wonderful times.

What does it mean to be a progressive? Well, progressive means that we should have a good life for all mankind, a good life for everybody regardless of politics. There should be no discrimination. There should be no hatred among people. That's our main point—a better life for all the people.

We were all progressives. It was no use inviting the others—it would be a quarrel. The Community Center was for the whole community. We all made financial contributions to the Community Center. The progressive family and the non-progressive family—I don't want to call them reactionary! [chuckling]—the conservatives—we were all there together. Our progressive groups were meeting at the Center because we were a part of the Jewish community and had a right to meet there. We felt that the Community Center is our own.

Ben and Sara Hochman lived near us too. Do you know their sons, Sam and Nathan? Both of them were in the Spanish Civil War. In 1935 or 1936 the fascists here in Petaluma beat up Hochman because he is a progressive man. It was during a strike of apple-pickers . . . Hochman was very active. They came to his house and

dragged him out. They beat him up and they took out the flag. They took out the flag and they said, "Bow to the flag on your knees."

So he said, "If this flag represents what you are doing to me now, then I have no use for it and I will not bow to it."

That's right! He told the fascists. And they were fascists! They beat him up. They nearly killed him. Oh, we were all heartbroken. It was something awful. It was something terrible—what they went through! They had to move out. They had to leave Petaluma. They went to New York, but they came back.

There were Nazis in Petaluma—there still are! I know of one especially. He was one of the big *machers* [big-shots] in town. Anderson was his name. He was a terrible man, a terrible person. They used to have demonstrations here in town in '36 and '37, and he would lead on horseback.

I meet his wife quite often in town now. Bridget is her name—a German name. Her parents were our neighbors—her mother was a Nazi. She was a little girl when we came and she married Anderson. She also became a Nazi.

They lived . . . not far from our place. Anderson had a cow and he didn't have much land. I had  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land. I didn't raise any greens then so I had plenty of pasture. So he used to bring his cow to my pasture. So he would come by and he would begin to talk to me.

I was afraid of him! He talked right in my face. He talked so quickly. He talked about Nazis. In my house he talked about Nazis! He wanted to show me that he is a great friend of mine. I never see him anymore. I don't know whether he is alive. He was mentally ill. That's right!

In the 1920's we did well, but in the Depression they were going to take everything away from everybody. Chicken ranch after chicken ranch—they kept on foreclosing and taking every cent away from everybody.

We almost lost everything we had. Before Roosevelt

became president they were going to take away our chicken ranch. We had  $12\frac{1}{2}$  acres and we sold  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres, being that in the time of the Depression we lost every cent that we had. We couldn't pay the mortgage on the place and they were going to foreclose. However, another bank advanced us some money and we paid. We sold more of our land and finally we were left with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres. We held on until 1937 and then another bank advanced us money. They didn't foreclose us, but we had to work very hard. That's why my husband died—from a heart attack from aggravation. He died in 1942, but he became sick right away during the Depression.

In 1942 we decided to sell the layers and take in chicks. Why did we start raising chicks? One of the Adler sons decided to take in 1500 chicks—in high school they gave you credit for certain things—and he made \$1500. Profit! Since then, everybody began to take in chicks. For chicks you needed brooder houses, so my husband, with a neighbor, they rebuilt some of the chicken houses to brooder houses. We were supposed to take in chicks on the fifth of September, 1942. My husband died on the first of September, 1942.

When my husband died, in his will he wanted to be cremated. At that time it was \$200. I had to pay \$200 to the funeral chapel and I didn't have the money. Sol Levin was the only one who knew my financial position when my husband died. He went to the funeral chapel and he said to the owner to wait three months. The chicks you sold at three months. They had to have a certain weight and it didn't pay to sell them when they were very young. The funeral chapel waited three months until after I sold my chicks and I paid them the \$200.

Sol did a lot for me then and I'll never forget it. He was the only one that spoke at my husband's funeral in the name of my husband. I remember a few words of his that he said: "The tradition of Shimon Singerman I hope will continue in Petaluma—to help each other like Shimon Singerman." Sol Levin talked at his funeral.



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*It's not like it was before. It's the atmosphere. It's the whole life here—not only in Petaluma—all over the United States. They want everyone to be conservative.*

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He is a wonderful person, an outstanding personality.

It wasn't easy after my husband died. I had a big mortgage—\$7,500. We owed \$3,000 for rebuilding the chicken houses. And it happened that a few months before, I fell and broke my kneecap. I owed the doctor \$1,000. So I owed about \$10,000 or \$11,000, and I was penniless. When my husband died they were going to take our place away. I had to sell more of my land and I had to raise chicks to pay off my debts. And I did.

A man by the name of Bill Freedman worked for us when he was seventeen years old. Bill was to my husband like a son. When my husband died, Bill finished rebuilding my chicken houses into brooder houses. He used to work for me two days a week. He would come and fill up all the hoppers with mash and he would clean the chicken houses. He did a lot of things. Without Bill, I wouldn't have survived.

So I paid the first mortgage, I paid the \$1,000 for the accident, and I paid the \$3,000 for rebuilding the chicken houses. I came out all right. I was at that time young [50 years old] and strong like a horse. I loved work. I like to work.

I kept the ranch until 1966. It was in my heart—not only the house, the whole place. We built everything ourselves. I never thought that I would sell my place.

We always belonged to the Poultry Producers [a large cooperative which also served as a savings bank]. My husband was one of those who helped to organize it in 1916. He had so much confidence in the Poultry Producers and so did I. We used to buy feed there and we used to deliver eggs there. Every year they would pay a dividend.

After my husband passed away my whole savings

were in the Poultry Producers. I paid for the ranch and I lived very modestly. However, in 1964 the Poultry Producers declared themselves bankrupt. They took away millions of dollars from the members and they took away every cent of my \$7,500. The whole management—they were corrupt—they did not go bankrupt. They were crooks and they took the money for themselves.

In the beginning they wanted to see that the members should be quiet. So they wrote every member will get back dollar for dollar. They didn't—they took everything. They sent another letter that they will pay 2 per cent, or whatever it was. In my letter they said they would pay \$300 for my \$7,500. On the letter they told you to take it or leave it. Some people left it—they didn't want to take it.

Some people lost tens of thousands of dollars. Cousins of my husband—Jake and Freda Singerman—they had \$30,000. There was a membership of thousands and many people lost their ranches.

I was left penniless and I had to go on welfare. I couldn't pay for anything. A whole year I was on the welfare and it nearly killed me. Because I was so independent. It was begging actually. It was so humiliating!

One day I couldn't pay the taxes on my ranch. I thought I would go to my social worker. In the city hall I used to go. Ooooooh, I just shiver when I think about it!!! I didn't like the welfare business—to go to a social worker. He was a very nice person, but what could he do? It wasn't up to him.

However, I came over and I said I have no money to pay my taxes this year. He said if you have no money to pay your taxes, the state will come and take your place away.

I nearly fainted when he said it. I never thought I would sell my place. I would have never sold the ranch if not for that. But then it occurred to me that I must sell my place! I don't want them to take my place away.

So I went to a stationery store and I bought a "for sale" sign. A good friend of mine, Max Blumberg, he had a

*I am eighty already. Well, time flies for everybody. The only difference is that one gets born earlier and another later.*

Cotati real estate agency. He went by and he saw the sign. So he comes in and he says, "Basha, do you want to sell your place?"

I said, "Fine!"

He said, "I have a customer for you." He brought these young people, with two children, and they bought my place. They bought my place, so I had to move out.

When I sold my place, Dvora Kamen, she said, "What will we do without Basha's house?" Because all the meetings and all the affairs—whatever you can think of—was in my house. It was open from the very first day it was possible for people to come in. So she says, "What will we do without Basha's house?"

So? OK! We are getting along without Basha's house. That's all. That's the end of it—the whole story about it. *Versteh* [understand]? This is our wonderful system. Half of my place I had to sell in the 1930's and then they come and take everything away from you. But who cares?

I can't do anything anymore—I feel that my strength is failing me—but I always was very active in our organizations. In 1947 a group of Jewish women—naturally, cultural women who like to read books—a group of us got together and we decided we must organize a Jewish Women's Reading Circle here in Petaluma. They had Jewish reading cricles, men and women, all over the United States in nearly every city and town, but the men didn't want to join us! They said they were busy in the Cultural Club and they had no time. That's right! It was beneath their dignity to join with women in a cultural circle.

We had as many as forty women from Cotati, Petaluma, and Penngrove. We used to have two groups, because forty was too big a group for discussion, and one Executive Committee. We read and carried on discussions. First we would discuss current events, because

this was of great importance. For the current events the one who was to report read whatever she wished. But for the cultural part there was a Cultural Committee and we picked out what to read. It was all Yiddish, nothing else but Yiddish. Sometimes one woman prepared a book review of an interesting book. The discussions were outstanding. Each and every one of us is cultured. We read a lot and we know what's going on.

Some people that think Jewish culture is dying out in the United States. I don't feel that it will disappear here. In each nationality the young people want to know where they stem from—their culture, their literature, their expression. The Jewish young people want to know it too. Now. You know, there are Yiddish courses in forty universities in America. Now is the time for that. You'll have to learn Yiddish. Really.

But here in Petaluma they have nothing for the progressive children. . . . It's not like it was before. It's the atmosphere. It's the sentiment. It's the whole combination of life here—not only in Petaluma—all over the United States. They want everybody to be conservative.

When we built the Center in 1925 we built a *shul* in it. You know what *shul* means? Synagogue! We built a big hall, a smaller hall, the kitchen and the synagogue. I was never in the *shul*, to tell you the truth. I don't know how it looks. I wasn't interested. It didn't occur to me to go in there.

Now, you open the Center bulletin, it is full with religion. Nothing else. Well, they tell you many things—contributions to the congregation, coming events—but most of it is religion. They have the rabbi's talk, and the rabbi's talk is a very long one. Most of this little bulletin is filled with religion. OK. This is their pleasure. Fine!

Many of the leaders of the Center are strange to me now. They are strange to me and their activities are strange to me . . . to many of our people. We continue with our work in our organizations. Now we have a very small group in the Jewish Women's Reading



*Basha in the study of "Singerman's Hotel,"  
the big house built by Shimon that was "open  
to everybody from the day it was  
built" in 1922.*



Circle. We are at the most five or six women at the meetings. We meet in the private homes of members every two weeks. Now we have a couple of women who read Yiddish, but not too well, and they would rather read English. So they read an article from the *Jewish Currents* or the *People's World* or the *New York Times*.

We want to hold on. We don't want to give it up. But Eva Sarbin was a member of the Reading Circle and now she can't come—she's broken up by her husband's death. And now Haber. I think this is an end to our Jewish Reading Circle. . . .

We don't give up yet, we don't give up. We have our Jewish Cultural Club and we are doing wonderful work. We used to have a high membership, over a hundred people, but it's getting lesser and lesser. At the last

meeting we had twelve or thirteen people. Before, we could never meet in a house—we rented a hall. But we still have interesting meetings.

I am over eighty already. Well, time flies for everybody. The only thing different is that one gets born earlier and another later. Literally speaking I am alone, but I manage. Several years ago they raised my rent on Western Avenue from \$140 to \$200. I moved to Maple Street and a lot of my close friends live in the building now. There is the Salzes and the Hochmans and the Habers and the Braunsteins. Here we are close. We go to one another. Sometimes in the night we come together in one house.

The photographs in this article are on loan to Kenneth Kann.



In February of 1864, a year after the Emancipation Proclamation prohibited slavery in the United States, the black editor of San Francisco's *Pacific Appeal*, Peter Bell, penned with optimism:

A new era has already dawned, and it is with yourselves to decide as to whether you or your children shall be made capable of assuming the responsible positions which already are available to you. The Federal government and the good and intelligent among the American people are endeavoring to help you.<sup>1</sup>

While Bell's announcement of a new American consciousness may have been premature, many black Californians must have found consolation and hope in his faith that the worst times were over. In the state's first decade Biblically-phrased legislation discriminating against blacks, Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, and Mongolians had found its way into the solemn library of California law, and native racism dominated the lives of black people so completely that many, including Bell, must have believed that conditions could only improve.

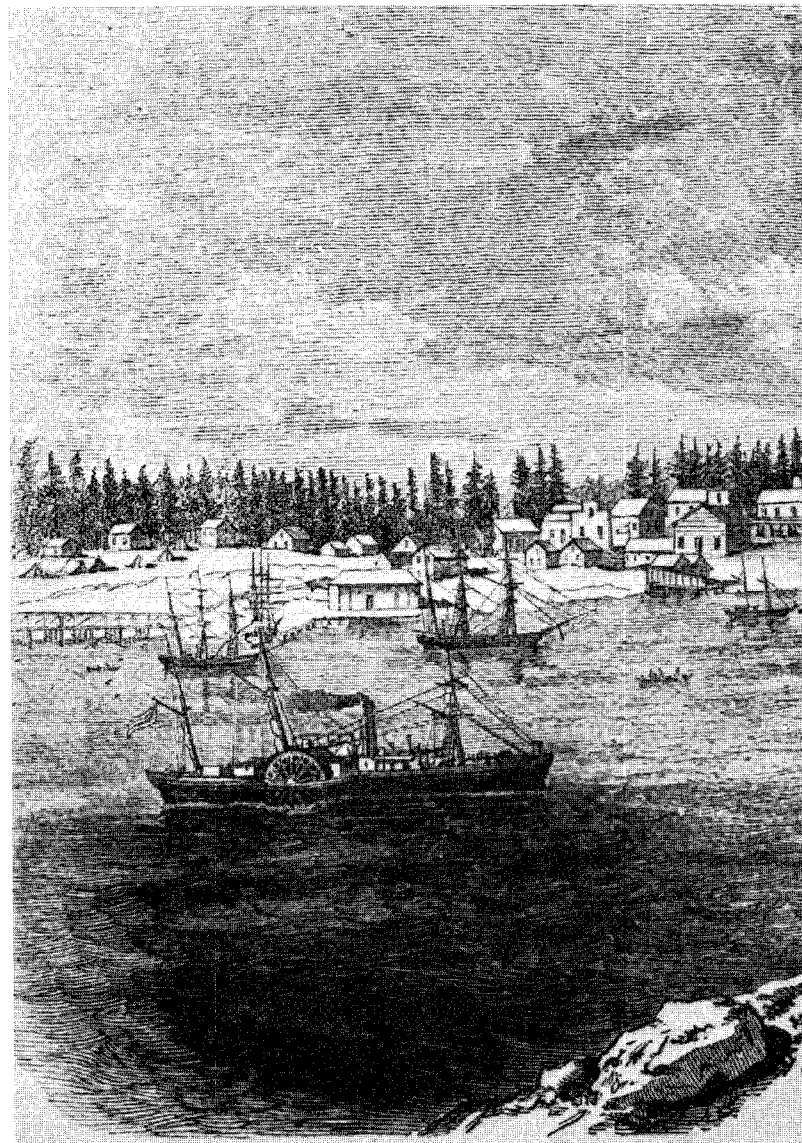
In response to this triumph of white supremacy in the 1850's, a group of dissatisfied free blacks—some of them forty-niners—pulled up roots once again and moved north to the British colony of Vancouver Island in search of freedom from racial discrimination. In part, Bell must have been writing to these black emigrés, many of them former civil rights leaders, with the hope of convincing them to return to the United States and take up the struggle.

The final decision to abandon the United States must have been painful for the black families and individuals who not so long ago had believed that racism would have no place in El Dorado. The decision had been a decade in the making, however, as one after another discriminatory concept became California legal gospel. As early as the autumn months of 1849 the proper posi-

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Mr. Edwards, upon graduating from Pomona College, maintained an avid interest in California history and actively supported the Sierra Club.

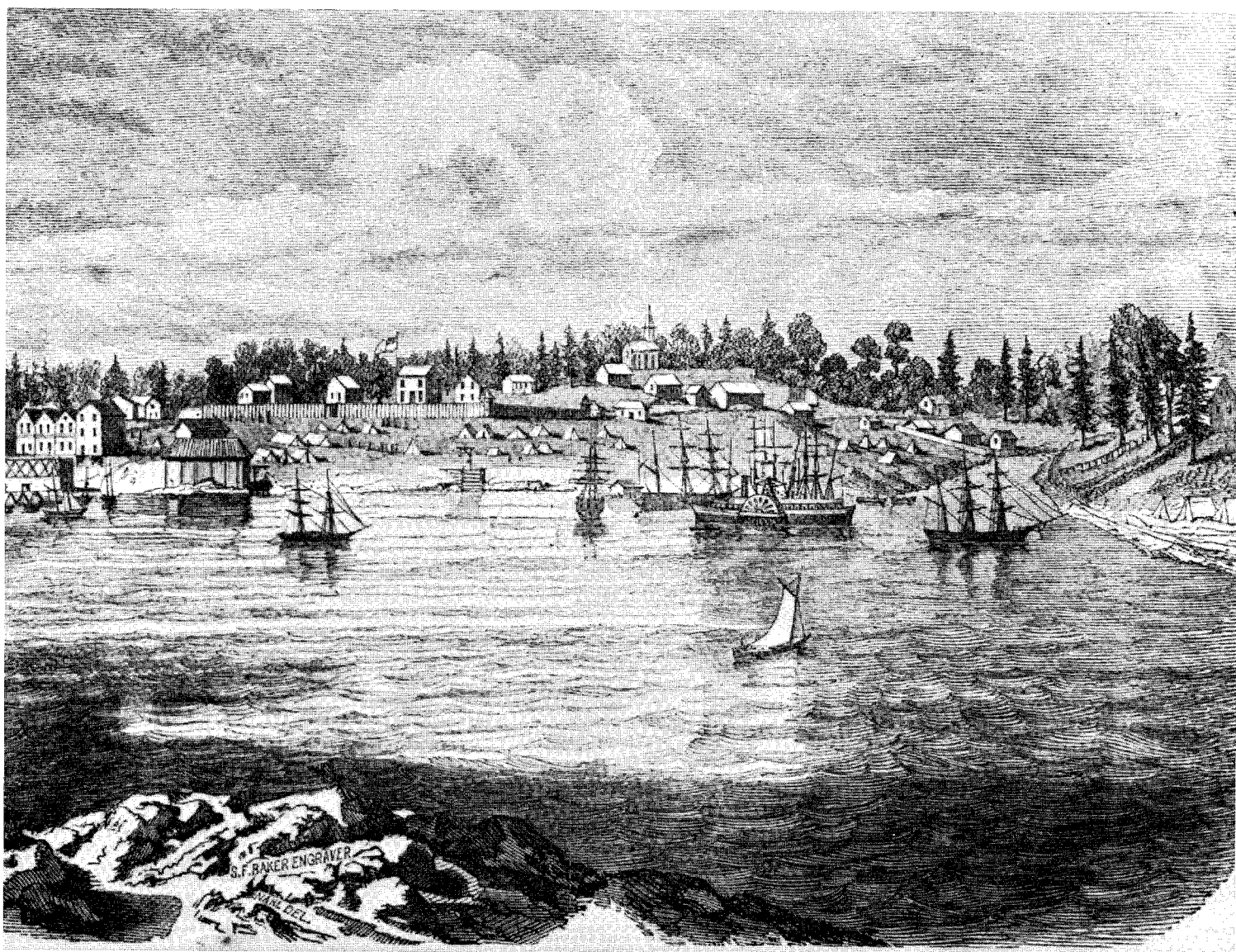
## THE WAR OF Blacks in Gold





# COMPLEXIONAL DISTINCTION

## Rush California & British Columbia



*An 1858 lithograph shows Victoria as it looked when the black émigrés from California arrived in the Vancouver Island harbor.*



## *By 1858, eight California legislatures had built an appallingly extensive body of discriminatory laws.*

tion of black people in California society had been debated long and heatedly by the constitutional convention at Monterey. San Francisco's delegates had been instructed "by all honorable means to oppose any act, measure, provision, or ordinance that is calculated to further the introduction of domestic slavery into the territory of California,"<sup>2</sup> and with surprisingly modest demurs, they and their fellows agreed that slavery was unacceptable within the boundaries of the proposed state. The accord on this matter reflected not liberal, humanitarian concerns, however, but merely resistance to the threat of economic competition with slave labor in the mines.

Having disposed of the slavery question directly, the convention then moved to the critical question regarding the exclusion of "free persons of color" from California. The question was brought formally to the convention's attention on September 11, withdrawn to allow other business to proceed, and reopened on September 19, 1849. M. M. McCarver, born in Kentucky's Madison County and arrived in Sacramento in 1848, rose that day to urge inclusion of these phrases in the constitution:

The Legislature shall, at its first session, pass such laws as will effectively prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this State, and to effectively prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this State for the purpose of setting them free.<sup>3</sup>

McCarver's logic, and that of many conventioners, was that slaves freed by their masters solely to become indentured servants in the mines would constitute a threat to order "greater than slavery itself."<sup>4</sup>

A similar motion finally came to vote on October 3, but was defeated 31-8. Fear that United States Congress might consider the clause in violation of the Federal Constitution, and that it might therefore reject the California Constitution as a whole and delay statehood, prompted the legislature, with a wisdom more broadly reflecting the opinion of the public, to postpone dealing with the issue until its first session.<sup>5</sup>

The question of suffrage was resolved in an uneasy compromise which limited the right to vote to white males and instructed the legislature to consider extending the franchise to certain Indians or descendants of Indians. Knowing that legislative action was unlikely on this issue, the constitution-makers reasoned that this open-ended decision might forestall friction with Mexico and Mexican Californians with Indian ancestry. As far as the convention was concerned, suffrage for blacks was a closed issue.<sup>6</sup>

The prejudice against free blacks expressed in the constitutional convention carried over into the first legislature and maintained momentum as the decade progressed. The state's first governor, Peter Burnett, openly opposed the acceptance of free negroes within California's golden boundaries. The legislature, which gathered in 1850, was divided on the question. One faction, dominated by northern and southern whites representing the mining districts, feared economic competition with alien or colored races and worked persistently but without success for the exclusion of blacks. The legislature's majority was less insistent on the point of prohibition but promptly began to write statutes which humiliated, restricted, and periled any blacks who chose to enter California.

Fears expressed through legislative and social discrimination were generous in relation to the number of blacks in residence. The California census of 1850 revealed fewer than 1,000 black pioneers in a total population estimated at between 100,000 and 175,000. The number rose to 2,200 according to a special census taken in 1852 and to 4,086, including 2,062 mulattoes, in 1860. Only four of the state's counties had more than 100 free blacks in residence in 1860.<sup>7</sup> In the gold counties, .8 per cent of the population was black, and in the San Francisco Bay area, where they tended to concentrate, they amounted to 1.6 per cent of the population.<sup>8</sup> Blacks accounted for about 1 per cent of California's population during the state's first decade, proving, in part at

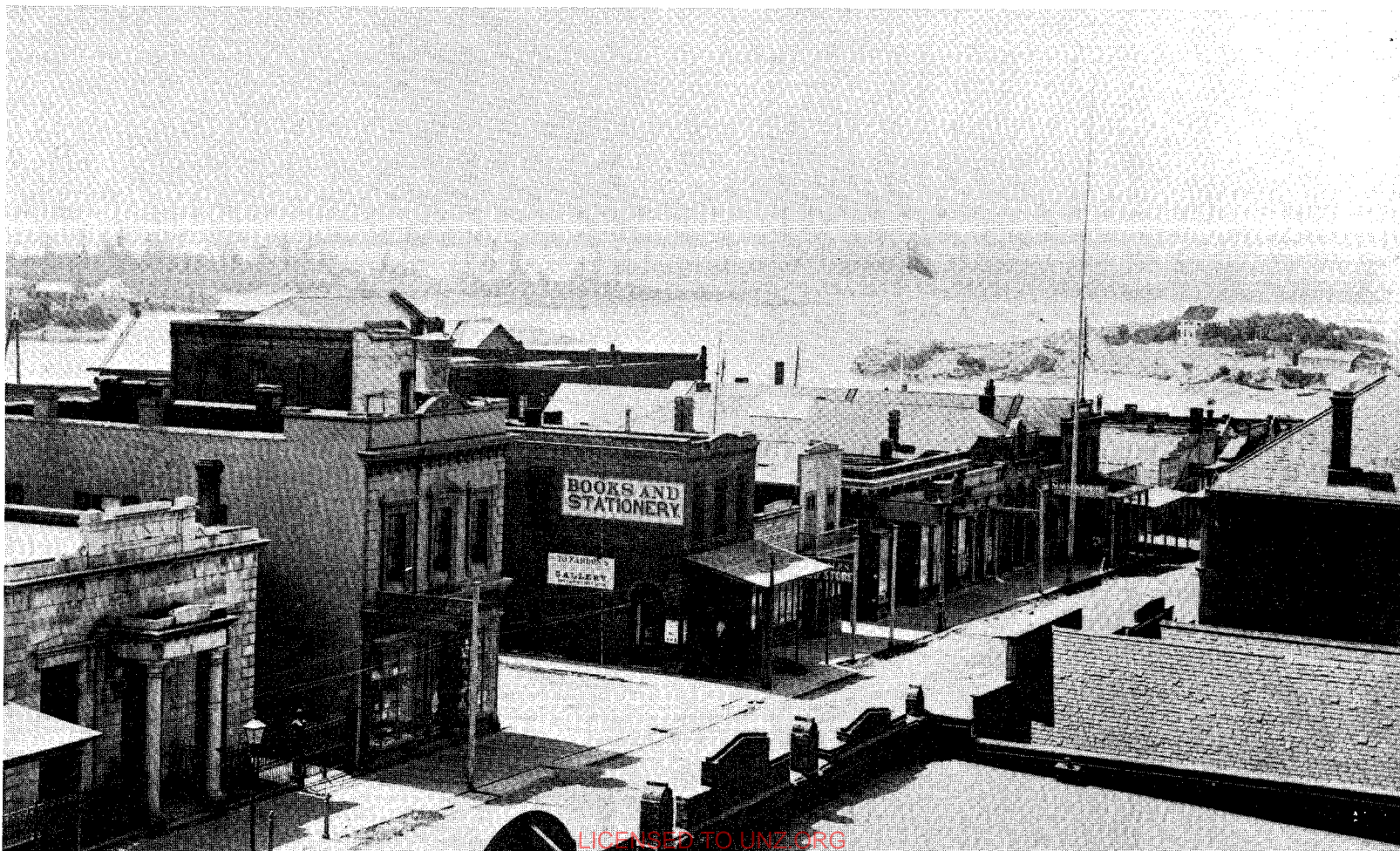


least, the effectiveness of the lawmakers' attempts at exclusion.

By 1858, eight California legislatures had built an appallingly extensive body of discriminatory laws including: the prohibition of testimony in civil and criminal actions involving whites; the institution of poll and property taxes; the invalidation of marriages between whites and blacks or mulattoes; exclusion from the state homestead law; exclusion from jury eligibility; and the lapsing of legislation affecting free blacks' rights under Fugitive Slave laws. In practical terms this meant that free blacks, and those brought in indenture to California during the late 1840's and the early 1850's, lived a lean socio-political existence. The early months of 1858 brought events which heightened the despair of

blacks, as their children were excluded from public schools attended by whites. The concurrent Archy Lee case, which verified the right of a slaveholder to repossess a slave who had escaped to California, made apparent the blacks' vulnerability to white statutes.<sup>9</sup>

The general public first learned of the fugitive slave matter in January when it was reported that Lee had been arrested after escaping his master and was being held for deportation. Lee was first ruled free and then reapprehended at the insistence of his owner, C. A. Stovall of Mississippi. Stovall claimed he was only passing through California and had remained in the Sacramento area only long enough to regain his health (this recuperatory period had involved five months of teaching school, hiring out his slave, and managing a modest-





*British Governor James Douglas invited California blacks to immigrate to Vancouver Island. He needed a loyal labor force to facilitate construction of government buildings, such as the parliament structures known as "the birdcages" (photo below, c.1870).*

size cattle ranch). The case came to the state's supreme court where Chief Justice Peter Burnett judged the matter in company with ex-Texan Justice David S. Terry. They found that the master had forfeited his right to the slave by bringing him to a free state after its admission to the Union and by remaining for a substantial time, but ruled that an exception should be made because the master was young, in poor health, and in need of his slave's services. Their decision, instructive as to the flexibility of the law, was received with disbelief in black and many white communities alike.<sup>10</sup>

Lee's appeal for release on habeas corpus after the Burnett-Terry ruling was heard on March 8 before Judge Frolon who denied Stovall's arguments for dismissal. Lee was again discharged, again arrested at Stovall's urging, and taken to the court of United States Commissioner Pen Johnson. The commissioner found numerous discrepancies in Stovall's testimony and, combining the evidence with interpretation of the law less sympathetic to Stovall, ruled that Lee was indeed free.

While the case followed its bizarre course through the courts, mining county members in the legislature busily sponsored drives to re-establish the state's fugitive slave laws which had lapsed in 1855—and to pass legislation which once and for all would bar blacks from entering or residing in the state. Neither proposal became law, although the exclusion act came within a whisker of passing. In all probability it failed because differences between the assembly and senate versions could not be resolved before the session ended.<sup>11</sup> To many blacks in California it was a clear sign that their safety and prosperity was in constant jeopardy.

While black Californians watched with trepidation the course of the Archy Lee trial and yet another legislature moving for a black exclusion act, events to the north—events similar to the ones which had prompted



the sudden migration to California in the early 1850's—seemed to promise an opportunity for a better and more secure life in another country. The discovery of gold at Fraser River in British Columbia had enticed most of the white laborers of Britain's Vancouver Island to the gold fields. As a result Governor James Douglas found himself without a work force with which to expand governmental functions and construct offices in Victoria. A small labor pool of Indians remained, but he considered them "a rather unruly force, requiring very close and constant superintendence. . . ."<sup>12</sup>

A single solution to the blacks' dismay and the gov-



ernor's need was developing in the south. Speakers at a meeting held in San Francisco's Zion Church the day of Archy Lee's final release voiced their anger at the proposed exclusion act and declared that they would "not be degraded by the enactment of such an unjust and unnecessary law against them by their own countrymen."<sup>13</sup> The suggestion was made then that they emigrate to Vancouver Island, to Sonora, or to a Central American republic to establish a permanent home for themselves on the Pacific coast. On receiving an indirect invitation from Douglas soon thereafter, and intimations of employment and land, they decided on British Columbia.

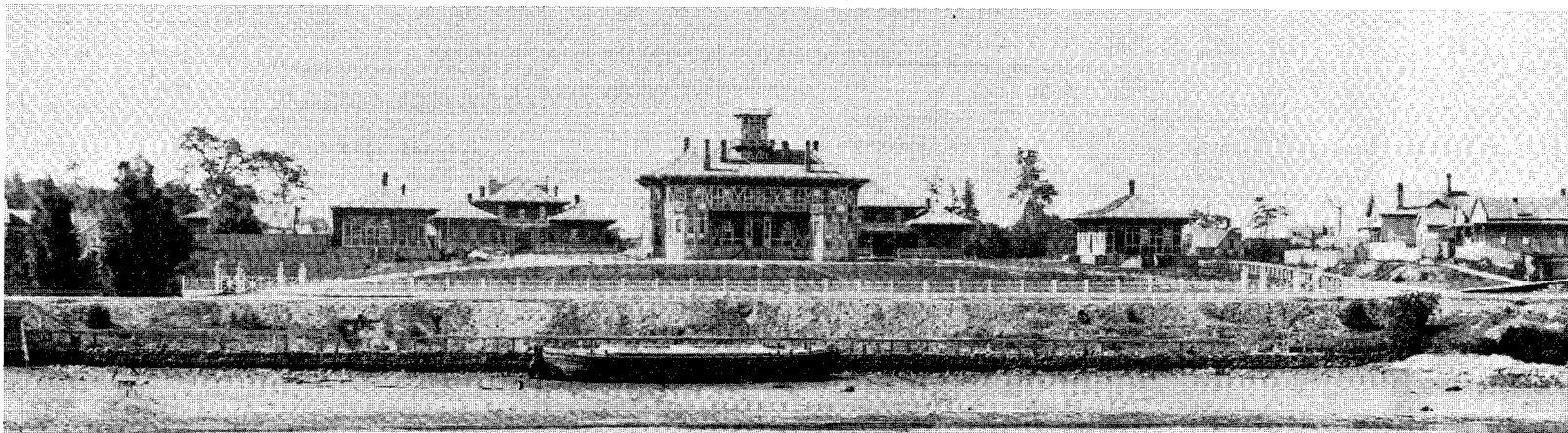
On April 20, 1858, the *Columbia*, *Golden Age*, and *Commodore* each embarked San Francisco passengers for the north, and a hopeful band of some thirty-five blacks, caught in a sea of gold seekers on the *Commodore*'s decks, said their goodbyes to their homeland and turned their hopes northward to the British colony. San Francisco's *Daily Morning Chronicle* inflated the number of departing blacks to well beyond the actual but caught the contingent's mood:

By the steamers *Commodore* and *Columbia*—which sailed yesterday for Puget Sound and the British Possessions in the North, over two hundred colored people, principally from this city and Sacramento, many of whom were industrious and useful members of the community in which they resided, took passage, intending to make that region their

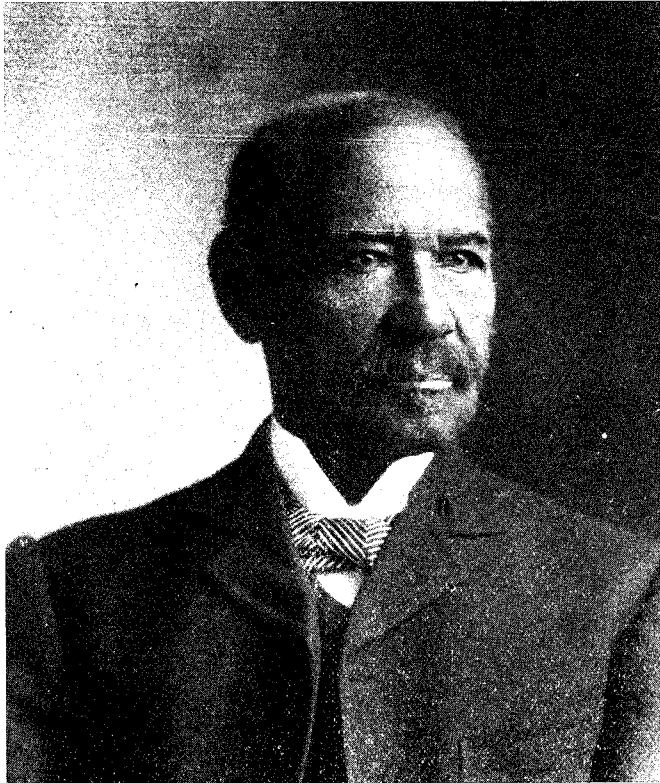
future home. The majority of the emigrants propose settling at Victoria, V[ancouver] I[sland], and have taken with them their families, household goods, and implements for business. That the colored folks are in earnest about this matter may be inferred from the remark of one of them, who, referring to his future home in Victoria, said with considerable warmth, "Yes sir, I intend to lay my bones there."<sup>15</sup>

The advance party was followed by hundreds more over the next several years. Estimates of the number of immigrants run as high as 800<sup>16</sup> and as low as several hundred. The Reverend Matthew Macfie, a Congregational minister who went to Vancouver Island in 1859, set the number at 400; Mifflin Gibbs, one of the California and Victoria community's most respected and articulate spokesmen, reported that "three to four hundred colored men from California and other states, with their families settled in Victoria. . . ."<sup>17</sup> A latter-day historian determined 400 as an accurate number, a figure which includes the blacks that went to outlying settlements on Salt Spring Island and elsewhere in British Columbia. Whatever the actual figures, the exodus came at a time in American history when "... to be a negro and a pioneer required a double allowance of courage and ambition."<sup>18</sup>

For many blacks, however, hopes, courage, and ambition were not enough, for British Columbia failed to be the expected haven from discrimination. For many the island experience became another disappointed dream, if not the full tragedy one historian has assessed.<sup>19</sup>



Mifflin Wister Gibbs, eloquent black spokesman and permanent exile from American racism.



Even as they sailed north on the *Commodore*, a portent of things to come was visited on the first band of pioneers. White stowaways and troublemakers bound for the gold fields made the voyage periodically unpleasant for the black passengers by "kicking over their pans of food."<sup>20</sup> In Victoria itself, many of the white colonists initially practiced friendliness, but they were soon won over to prejudice by their companions. James Pilton, an historian of the colony, claims that many of the British residents became more race-conscious than the Americans, and some of the blacks complained of "more prejudice against them in British Columbia than in many parts of the United States."<sup>21</sup>

As early as May 20, 1858, the *San Francisco Daily Morning Chronicle* carried a letter from Victoria which reflected the situation of native prejudice. "Some of the

colored people who started a negro colony at Vancouver," it read, "have come over here disgusted with British liberty."<sup>22</sup> A century later, the *Victoria Daily Colonist* speculated that Governor Douglas himself had secret dual purposes of a political nature in inviting the blacks to Vancouver Island. The paper asserted that "Douglas did not give the negro delegation a fully accurate picture of conditions. He was anxious to have a group of people in the colony who would be loyal to him from the outset; he was not color-prejudiced, but that was in sharp contrast with his attitude towards aliens, whom he regarded as a dangerous foreign element, fearing their influence on customs in social and economic spheres which would make it difficult to retain close control over the development of the colony. It seemed to him, however, that the Negroes would accept any rules and regulations which he laid down, so long as they themselves were treated with equality...."<sup>23</sup>

While racism and prejudice came to infect most native Victorians, a less conditional welcome was extended to the new blacks by the Reverend Edward Cridge, who persisted in his friendship as long as he remained on the island. He invited the blacks to join his church, where, ironically, they first met the formal discrimination they were fleeing. In August of 1858 the *Victoria Gazette* carried a letter from members of Reverend Cridge's church complaining how their delicacy had been offended: "Last Sabbath was an unusually warm day. The little Chapel was crowded as usual with a 'smart sprinkle' of blacks, *generously* mixed with in the whites. The Ethiopians *perspired!* They always do when out of place. Several white gentlemen left their seats vacant, and sought the purer atmosphere outside; others moodily endured the aromatic luxury of their positions, in no very pious frame of mind."<sup>24</sup>

Soon white members of Reverend Cridge's congregation demanded a segregated black gallery, but the minister refused and scolded his parishioners for their intolerance. Many whites withdrew from the church,



finding the double burden of black neighbors and a lecture on Christianity too much to accept.

The traveler, Kinahan Cornwallis, a visitor in Victoria during May and June of 1858, was convinced that the black was the parent of his own discomfort. "I observed that the coloured people, i.e. 'niggers', collected here, many of whom were 'real estate' owners, conducted themselves in a manner rather bellicose than otherwise which of course excited derision; and one of their number, I heard, attempted to take his seat with white people at a boarding house table in town, but was expelled in a manner as prompt and merciless as the style of doing the thing was ludicrous. The newly appointed police of the place were negroes, and consequently heartily despised by the Americans. . . ." <sup>25</sup>

The *Victoria Colonist* echoed Cornwallis' sentiments, asserting that "... undoubtedly, the coloured people were to blame for much of the antagonism aroused against them, for they tended to flaunt their newly acquired privileges before the race-conscious Americans. They condemned everything American and hated some Englishmen merely because they had lived in the United States. . . ." <sup>26</sup>

Even fellow blacks in California cast some doleful glances in the direction of the Victoria colonists. In 1859 the executive committee of the Colored People of the State of California remarked in its financial and progress report to the membership: "By referring to their exhibit you will find that the largest amount of money ever in their Treasury is \$649.37 in the month of February, 1856, immediately after the first Convention, a sum wholly insufficient to accomplish the most insignificant purpose, and when compared to the important nature of the right of oath to our people, or any other political questions, sinks into nothingness. Again, in the late great Fraser excitement, when the desire to migrate to the new El Dorado became a mania, pervading all classes, many of our best men, the bone and sinew, the wealth and intelligence of our people, became infatuated with

the golden prospects, and left the State for a new theatre of action. . . ." The organization, disheartened by a lack of progress and the decline suffered with the departure for British Columbia of many of its most potent members, then abandoned its struggle and, indeed, did not meet again until 1864. <sup>27</sup>

During the elections of 1860, political conflict hardened anti-black sentiment in Victoria. The majority of the blacks born in the United States had not yet qualified for citizenship, but, according to the *Daily Colonist*, it was "very craftily suggested that since the black colonists, according to the Dred Scott decision, were not legally citizens of any country, they could vote in the coming election by merely taking an oath of allegiance." <sup>28</sup> When the blacks did vote as a bloc, they evoked charges of illegality and threats of economic boycott.

Angered by what it judged as a liberal definition of citizenship and disappointed by the defeat of a candidate it had supported, the *Colonist* introduced the idea of reprisals. "What," it asked, "would be the daily receipts of the hundred and fifty coloured labourers, restaurant, store and shopkeepers of Victoria, were the patronage of the whites all withdrawn from them?" <sup>29</sup> In response, white bartenders refused to serve blacks after the election controversy.

Shortly thereafter, a Court of Revision ruled on March 23, 1860, that the black people's votes were invalid. Even after the courts judged that American-born blacks could not have the same rights and privileges as British subjects, the question remained about blacks who were British subjects by birth or naturalization. Would they be given the same political rights as whites? The question was answered in the fall of 1861 when Jacob Francis, a British black, was declared eligible to seek a seat in the legislative assembly. The Vancouver Island Aliens Act passed in that same year prohibited blacks who were not officially awarded British citizenship from holding legislative office.





*Some California blacks homesteaded at Saanich, Vancouver Island, where they raised hops while their children attended Saanich's first school.*





## *“The war of complexional distinction is upon us. . . .”*

That same year, a black had been called to serve on a Vancouver Island jury. He was the only blackman to sit in a jury box until 1872, excepting several who served on a coroner's jury assembled in the interim to hear a case involving the murder of a black.

Discrimination continued when Victoria blacks were refused membership in the city's volunteer fire brigade in 1860. They responded by asking Governor Douglas for permission to form a volunteer militia at their own expense. Douglas was agreeable, since troublesome Indians were moving closer to Victoria, and no comparable offer for defense was forthcoming from the white community. The black unit, the colony's lone military force for several years, was known as the Victoria Pioneer Rifle Corps and first included sixty men commanded by Fortune Richard. Sworn into service in July, 1861, the blacks promptly built a drill hall and applied to the government for arms. Military supplies had arrived in the colony, but their request for rifles was delayed, and for some time Victoria was protected by a weaponless militia.

The Rifle Corps was first financed with funds raised in the black community through a variety of social functions; then it was augmented in December of 1861 by a grant of forty-five pounds from the governor's treasury. Interest in the corps waned beginning in 1862, but revived in 1864 when the unit expected to participate in welcoming ceremonies for the new governor.

A speech given to the unit on March 14, 1864, just before the festivities, illustrates the loyalty and patriotism, yet awareness of reality that characterized the black colony. The occasion was the presentation of a silk Union Jack to the corps by a committee of black women. Sarah Pointer, the wife of Nathan Pointer who was one of the first American blacks naturalized in Victoria, stepped forward, laid the embroidered colors on the drum, stepped back, and addressed the militia:

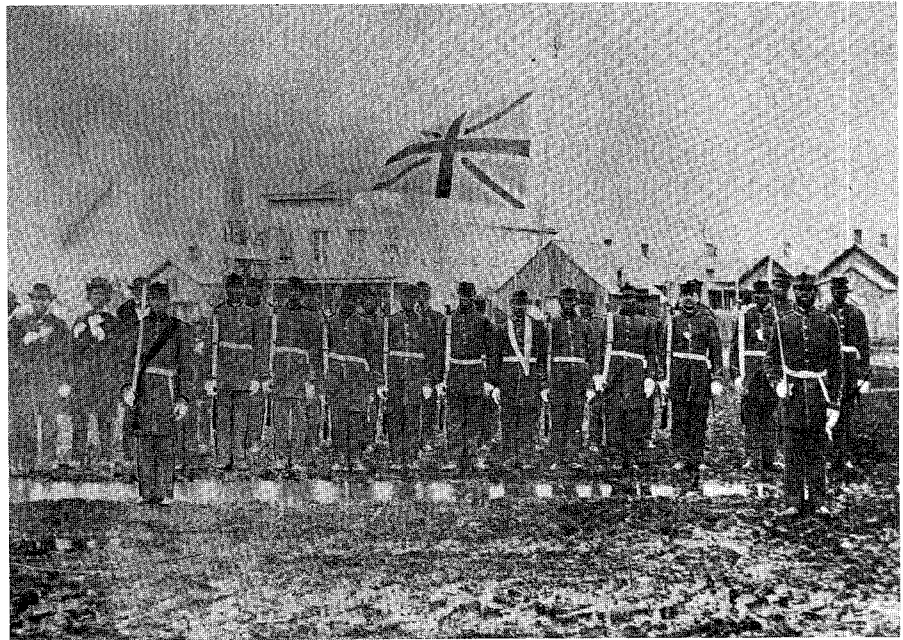
Captain and members of the Victoria Pioneer Rifle Company:

In behalf of the ladies of Victoria I present you this flag. It affords us much pleasure so to do, as we know your loyalty to this government is proverbial. The fostering care it has shown to the oppressed of our race, leaves us under many obligations to the sagacity and wisdom of her statesmen. Yet in this far-distant Colony of Her Majesty's Dominion we have many causes to complain. True, you have not as yet been called on to rally under this flag for protection; yet the war of complexional distinction is upon us, it is more ravaging to us as a people than that of Mars. But men, as long as this flag shall wave over you, you may rest assured that no man, or set of men, or nations, can successfully grind you down under the iron heel of oppression.<sup>30</sup>

Loyalty or no, departing Governor Douglas' supporters had no intention of admitting the blacks to his farewell banquet that day. Instead, they suggested the blacks march in the parade welcoming Governor Edward Kennedy. The parade organizers objected, however, since it meant that the blacks, as a military unit, would appear at the head of the procession.<sup>31</sup>

Caught between two rebuffs, the black unit sought support from the community at large and paraded their band through Victoria's streets to publicize their case. Community support was not forthcoming, and they were firmly and finally refused a place in the March 25 parade. Demoralized but not defeated, a week later they marched to the legislature where their commander presented an address of welcome to the new governor.<sup>32</sup>

On a day to day basis as well as formal occasions, discrimination against the black immigrants from the United States was commonplace. Following efforts to seat themselves in the main audience at theaters, the *Victoria Daily Press* of December 1, 1861, carried this notice for one of the city's houses: "Coloured people not admitted to any part of the building . . .", and a sign posted in front of the Colonial Theatre proclaimed, "Colored people not admitted to any part of the House



*California's blacks organized Victoria's first military regiment, the Pioneer Rifle Corps, for defense against Indian attack.*

except the Gallery." The tradition of exclusion continued over a period of years, as evidenced by a playbill for October 5, 1864, noting, "Colored persons cannot be admitted into the Dress Circle or Orchestra Seats. . . ."

A black visitor to Victoria wrote San Francisco's black newspaper, the *Pacific Appeal*, in 1864 that "prejudice is too strong in Vancouver Island. We have brighter prospects of political elevation under our own government, than in any British colony on this coast. . . ." <sup>33</sup> These remarks were endorsed by James Williams, a fugitive slave who had migrated to the island in the late 1850's to escape prejudices in California. Finding the British and white immigrants just as antagonistic and economic opportunity more limited, he returned to Sacramento. <sup>34</sup>

Racial discrimination was not practiced uniformly and across the board in British Columbia, however, and the general opinion among blacks was that it was not as intense as in the United States since it did not bear the stamp of official approval. In the gold fields, and on Salt

Spring Island off Vancouver's northeast coast, outward manifestations of discrimination and prejudice occurred seldom, and blacks and whites even worked in partnership in the mines. <sup>35</sup> Gibbs, often reserved in his appraisals, remarked that the first black settlers were received with a "frankness and cordiality so peculiarly British" <sup>36</sup> and omits mention of the intolerance, subtle or overt, which followed for some.

In contrast, another writer asserts that the controversy surrounding the inaugural ceremonies in 1864 and the disbanding of the Rifle Corps two years later symbolized "the rejection of the Negroes as a group on Vancouver Island." He continues that "even though many of them were accepted as individuals and some of their descendants still live in British Columbia, the attempt at establishing an integrated Negro settlement in the Colony had proven a failure." <sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most telling evidence of black people's true experiences in British Columbia lies in the simple fact that a large number willingly returned to the United



States following the Civil War. Certainly, political events seemed to offer a change for the better. In California, the legislature revised the state's testimony laws in 1863, at last allowing blacks to appear as witnesses in civil and criminal actions. Naturally, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation that same year offered an encouraging sign of change. The passage in 1865 of the Constitution's Thirteenth Amendment which abolished slavery and the passage of a civil rights act over President Johnson's veto the following year appeared to be emphatic reversals of earlier attitudes.

Bell wrote as the Civil War was ending that "a new era has already dawned." But the vision of the future that filled his mind, and the vision that brought numbers of California blacks back to the United States after their disappointing experience in British Columbia, were, in retrospect, at least a century premature.

The photographs are courtesy the Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

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4. Quoted in Walton E. Bean, *California, An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), p. 130.
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11. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate, Ninth Session, State of California*, (Sacramento, 1858).
12. James Douglas to Benjamin Hawes, April 7, 1858, Vancouver Island Miscellaneous Letters, June 22, 1850, to March 5, 1859, in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.
13. *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 15, 1858.
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21. Pilton, "Negro Settlement," 176.
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29. *Victoria Daily Colonist*, July 26, 1860.
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31. A. J. Arnold, "It Was the Negroes, Seeking Freedom, Who Formed First Victoria Militia," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, February 9, 1958.
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# Father Serra plans the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano

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Much as the founding of the United States over 200 years ago was accomplished not in a single day or incident, so the establishment of the Mission San Juan Capistrano on November 1 of that same year, 1776, resulted from a chain of contributory, if disparate, events.<sup>1</sup> Improved military, missionary, and supply-ship support from Central Mexico made possible in the mid-seventies the creation of a half-dozen missions in Alta California, but the missionary zeal of Father Junípero Serra proved a paramount factor in this expansive effort to secure the vast northern territory for Spain. Serra's penning of a memorandum on August 21, 1775<sup>2</sup>—a document which set forth dispositions for accomplishing the sixth of Serra's missions—formally established the next task of the Franciscan fathers in the largely unclaimed wilderness. Importantly, too, the holograph or document solely in Serra's hand reveals the practical, eighteenth-century attentions and problems related to the sustained mission-building effort. As it makes evident, securing appropriate icons and candles for the altar, beads for the natives, and chalice for the sacraments (to be borrowed from Mission San Diego) was no less a consideration than amassing adequate provisions, livestock, and tools for the expedition. The original Serra manuscript, now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Honeyman, is a rare still-existing document in Serra's own hand ordering the founding of one of his missions.<sup>3</sup>

**T**he immediate events leading to Serra's order for the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano have been clearly established. His dream for establishing a chain of stations in Alta California had been frustrated during the spring and early summer of 1775, for although he had enough friars to staff additional missions,<sup>4</sup> an edict of the viceregal council forbade founding any new institutions until sufficient troops could be assigned to protect them.<sup>5</sup> On August 10, 1775, two letters from the viceroy<sup>6</sup> arrived



in Monterey which unblocked this impasse. One of them directed the commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, Fernando de Rivera y Moncada,<sup>7</sup> to assist Father Serra in establishing one or two new missions armed with soldiers acquired from the presidios and from neighboring missions,<sup>8</sup> and the other informed Father Serra of the viceroy's message to Rivera.<sup>9</sup> Rivera immediately departed Monterey for Carmel to counsel with Father Serra.<sup>10</sup>

An agreement concerning the foundation of a new mission north of San Diego was finally hammered out in the August conferences between the commandant of the Monterey Presidio and the father president of the missions. The plans were confirmed in the document translated below of August 21, 1775, which authorizes and prepares for the founding.<sup>11</sup>

*Viva Jesús, María, Joseph!*<sup>12</sup>

*The Mission of San Juan Capistrano,<sup>13</sup> which will be founded in the valley of the same name, or its environs,<sup>14</sup> halfway between those of San Diego and of San Gabriel of the Earthquakes,<sup>15</sup> about twenty leagues<sup>16</sup> distant from each of them, and about two leagues from the coast of the South Sea,<sup>17</sup> according to the agreement reached between the Captain Commandant Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada and the Father President of the Missions, Friar Junípero Serra, on the thirteenth of August, 1775, by the order and instructions of his Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, which were issued the twenty-fourth of May, and were received the tenth of August of this same year.*

*Dispositions*

*I assigned and named as missionary ministers for the new mission:*

*The Father Preacher Friar Fermín Francisco Lasuén,<sup>18</sup> and*

*The Father Preacher Friar Gregorio Amurrió.<sup>19</sup> For the escort, the Commandant accepted of the four soldiers offered by the missions only two, to whom he added four more from the presidios, so that there are*

*Six leatherjackets, and  
A muleteer named Feliciano.*

*Item—Of the Indians, who with the permission of his Excellency, the Viceroy, came up from Baja California<sup>20</sup> of their own free will at the departure of our own religious, assigned to this mission for its inception and for its agriculture,*

*Two families of man and wife, and  
Four unmarried Indian youths.*

*Concerning provisions, at my request, the Commandant granted,*

*Four tercios<sup>21</sup> of fine flour  
Two ditto of unsifted flour  
Three tercios of beans  
A tercio of rice,  
and ordered from the San Diego warehouse,  
Twenty-five fanegas<sup>22</sup> of corn.*

*And to please the natives,<sup>23</sup> and to reciprocate their little gifts, I gave to Father Lasuén,*

*Four bundles of various colored beads.*

*Concerning cattle—of the cows that have just arrived in San Diego, from Baja California, assigned to this mission are:*

*Nine milch cows and a bull and  
A yoke of broken oxen from San Buenaventura, and  
I will take care to replace them when that desired foundation is realized,<sup>24</sup>*

*As to mules and horses, the Father Preachers of this mission have been assigned and have received:*

*Eight pack mules, six broken and two unbroken  
Three broken saddle mules  
Three broken horses  
Two mares and one of them with her colt.*

*Concerning pigs—the San Diego Mission will give a boar and a sow, and*

*Concerning chickens—From there (that mission), or from San Gabriel, however they should prefer.*

*Item—Two saddles equipped with their bridles, etc. for the Father Preachers.*

*Item—Two ditto also completely equipped for the young cowhands.*

Concerning tools, I delivered to Father Lasuén:

Twelve big new hoes  
Two axes for woodcutting or preparing charcoal  
Six large machetes for clearing  
Six large new knives and  
the branding iron for marking livestock in this form  
CAP

As for crowbars, plowshares or other ironware which they should need until the memorial from Mexico should arrive.<sup>25</sup> I have written to the Father Preachers of San Gabriel to release those in the stores of San Buenaventura which are kept at the said mission.

For the Church and the Sacristy, they have

One pulpit crucifix of our Lord for the altar.

One painting, more than a vara long of the Most Blessed Mary, depicted as the Heavenly Shepherdess. In the background, a condemned man is represented, and this is the painting that Father Campa used.<sup>26</sup>

Item—Another painting of a little more than a third of a vara depicting Our Lady of Solitude.

Item—(among others) A print of our Sainted Patron.

Item—About four varas of muslin to make a baldachin and a backdrop for the altar.

Item—A new missal with the saints of our order.

Item—A number of corporals, doubled of fine linen, with a burse, and a small pall.

Item—An amice of Breton lace, and two purificators of fine linen.

Item—A rochet of fine white brabant linen with its lace embroidery.

Item—Castilian wax sufficient for masses for a year.

Item—As for wine, the two closest missions will supply what they can.

Item—Assigned to this mission are all the ornaments for the church as well as for the house which have come from Baja California, that should be found to have been for the use of the two aforesaid ministers and of the Father Preachers Prestamero<sup>27</sup> and Imas.<sup>28</sup>

*Viado de San Juan de Capistrano*  
Misión de San Juan de Capistrano  
que se va a fundar en el valle del mismo nombre, o su inmediación en el intermedio de las de San Diego, y San Gabriel de los Temblores, como véase aguas distantes de cada una, y de la costa del mar del Sur como dos, segun lo acordado entre el Sr. Cap. Comand. D. Fernando Rivera y Moncada, y el P. Predic. D. Las Injunciones de Junipero Serra en 13. de Agosto de 1775 en orden, y encargo del Ex. mo Sr. Virrey de esta nueva España expedido en 24 de Mayo, y recibido en 10 de Agosto del mismo año.

*Disposiciones*  
Asigne, y nombre en quinientos Injuncioneros para nueva Injuncion a  
El P. Fr. Fermin Fran. Lasuen, y  
El P. Fr. Gregorio Amurrio

Para escolta, admitio el Sr. Comand. 4 quatro sold. q. ofrecian las Injuncion, solos dos, a los q. añadio a los Prefidios guados, y quedan  
Seis Soldados de Cuera y  
Un Arriero llamado Feliciano.

De los Indios q. con autoridad del Ex. mo Sr. Virrey, y espontanea voluntad de ellos, subieron a Calif. en la salida de este Relig. asigne a esta Injuncion p. principio de ella, y de sus labores

Los familiares de marido y muger, y  
Quatro Indios mapos solteros.

De víveres, asiente mi suplica franquos el Sr. Comand.

Quatro tercios de avina flor

Dos dhs de avina sin cernir

Dos tercios de Pijol

Un tercio de arroz, y orden al Almacazan de S. Diego.

Vinagre, y cinco fanegas de maíz.

Y p. gratificar gentiles, y corresponder sus regalillos di al P. Lasuen  
Quatro mapos de avalorios de varios colores

De ganado vacuno de las vacas q. acaban de llegar ad. Diego de S. Diego  
California asigne p. esta Injuncion

Nueve vacas chichiguas, y un toro Padre, y  
Una junta de bueyes mansos de los de Buena y alio cupiere

En su remplazo p. quando se verifique su dekada fundacion.

De mulada y cavallada tienen los P. de esta Injuncion asignado, y recibido  
Ocho mulas de carga, las seis mansas, y dos broncas  
Dhs mulas de silla mansas

pasan



• Tres cavallos mansos  
 Dos yeguas y la una de ellas con supotilla  
 De cerdas, la pifion de S.<sup>to</sup> Diego, dará macho y hembra y  
 De Galinas de alla, S.<sup>to</sup> Gabriel, como quisieren  
 It. Dos sillas aviadas con sus frenos de p.<sup>to</sup> los pp.  
 St. Dos sillas tambien aviadas de p.<sup>to</sup> mojos vaqueros  
 De Herramienta entregue al P. Lasuen  
 Doze apadones grandes nuevos  
 Dos achas de morche, o costoneras  
 Seys machetes grandes p.<sup>to</sup> los montes  
 Seys beldagues nuevos  
 el fierro de marcar el ganado en esta figura **CA**  
 Para Carreteras puntas de arado o algun otro fierro de si les ofrece  
 int. la viene la memoria de Mexico congo devito a los pp. S.<sup>to</sup> Gabri.  
 el de los franqueses de lo S.<sup>to</sup> Buenav. y esta guardado en esta pifion.  
 Para Iglesia, y sacristia tienen  
 Un D.<sup>to</sup> Crucifijo de Plomo p.<sup>to</sup> el altar  
 Un Lienzo de la S.<sup>ta</sup> Pastora Indica S.<sup>ta</sup> de may y vara, y tiene a las espal-  
 das un condenado y era del vro del S.<sup>to</sup> Camasa  
 It. Otro Lienzo de algo mas de terciar, S.<sup>to</sup> S.<sup>to</sup> de la Soledad  
 It. Entre otras una Estampa del Santo Patron  
 It. como quatro varas de Indianilla p.<sup>to</sup> formar un baldaguin, y de el al altar  
 It. un sitial nuevo con los S.<sup>to</sup> de una orden  
 It. unos corporales dobles y estopilla con figura y parapallia  
 It. un limbo de brasa y dos purificadores de estopilla  
 It. un roquete de bramañte florado con su encaje  
 It. cera de castilla p.<sup>to</sup> pifias p.<sup>to</sup> un año  
 It. de vino la socorrera como pudiesen las dos pifiones inmediatas.  
 It. se adjudicaron a esta pifion todas las alajillas, avri de p.<sup>to</sup> como  
 de casa y de lo venido de California, se hallare pertenecientes a los vros  
 de los dos dñs pifiones, y de los pp. Presidmery y mas.  
 Para celebrar la pifion de S.<sup>to</sup> Diego entregara un Caliz, y alla esta  
 hasta hoy sin mas destino, pp. Caminantes.  
 De lo S.<sup>to</sup> Buenav. franquera a los pp. S.<sup>to</sup> Gabriel un Ornamento  
 de varios colores, y de alla mismo interinam.  
 Chrismas, sobrepele, Ritual, concha, y lo demas neces.  
 una Campana.  
 It. la pifion de San Antonio ha dado p.<sup>to</sup> aliento de partidas  
 Los libros en blanco aporados en la Colorado  
 Con estos principios y disposiciones salio de esta pifion el Carlos de  
 Monte Rey en el 2.<sup>o</sup> de Agosto de 1775 el P.<sup>to</sup> Fermín, a juntarse con su  
 comp.<sup>to</sup> ref.<sup>to</sup> en la de San Luis Obispo. Dios los bendiga. Amen.

*F. Junipero Serra*

For celebration of the Mass, the Mission of San Diego will supply a chalice which is there now without any other purpose than to be used for travelers, and

From the stores of San Buenaventura, the Father Preachers of San Gabriel will release a set of vestments of each color, and from the same place provisionally, Chrisms, surplices, ritual, baptismal shell, and everything else necessary and A Bell.

Item—The Mission of San Antonio has given for entries and records Two blank books bound in red leather.

With these beginnings and dispositions, the Father Friar Fermín left this Mission of San Carlos of Monterey on the twenty-first of August, 1775 in order to join with his companion residing at the (Mission) of San Luis Obispo. May God bless them. Amen.

*F. Junipero Serra*

Armed with Father Serra's blessing and dispositions, Father Lasuén left Carmel, joined Father Amurrió, his co-missionary minister, and hurried south. Upon reaching San Gabriel Mission, the two friars parted again, Father Amurrió remaining to secure the goods and cattle that Father Serra had assigned to the new establishment, Father Lasuén proceeding to the site of the proposed new mission, where he erected an arbor, raised a large cross, and on October 30, 1775, celebrated mass.

Father Amurrió's arrival eight days later was marked by tragedy, for on the same day, a messenger brought news of an Indian massacre at San Diego. Concerned for their safety, Friars Lasuén and Amurrió suspended work on the new mission immediately. They buried the mission bells and, after loading all movable goods onto pack mules, withdrew to San Diego.<sup>30</sup> A year's delay ensued, but finally, on November 1, 1776, Father Serra himself, on the altar he constructed, celebrated Mass in the valley of San Juan Capistrano,<sup>31</sup> founding the mission he had envisaged long before.

The Serra document and Wiles painting are reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr.

## Notes

1. On this theme, see Ernest B. Furgurson, "Ten Good Reasons to Keep on Celebrating," *Los Angeles Times*, September 8, 1976, p. 7.
2. A shorter, variant draft of this document in the Stephens Collection of the University of Texas was translated and edited by Antoine Tibesar in *Writings of Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C., 1956), II:310-313.
3. A rendering of the Honeyman document was prepared by Monsignor Vincent Lloyd-Russell in 1967.
4. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1912), II:166-168 (hereafter cited as Engelhardt, *The Missions*).
5. Engelhardt, *The Missions*, 167, and cf. Palou's *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, translated and annotated by Maynard J. Geiger (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 157-158 (hereafter cited as *Palou's Life*).
6. Don Antonio Mariá Bucareli y Ursúa, Knight Commander (*Fray Bailio*) of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Knights of Malta), viceroy of New Spain from 1771 to 1779. Born in Seville, Jan. 24, 1717, Bucareli died in Mexico City, April 9, 1779.
7. Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, having commanded the Loreto garrison in Baja California, accompanied the Portolá expedition to Monterey and then returned to Lower California. On August 17, 1773, he was appointed military commander of Upper California, and he remained in that command until February 3, 1777. He was killed by Indians near Yuma on July 17, 1781, during the Colorado River massacre.
8. "Escribía al Capitán Rivera para que de acuerdo con su Reverencia hiciese lo posible para fundar una ó dos misiones más en los parajes que se juzgasen más á propósito con algunos de los soldados de los presidios, agregándoles otros de las misiones más inmediatas." Palou, "Noticias," tom. iv, cap. ix, 115, as cited by Engelhardt, *The Missions*, II:168, and cf. Fray Francisco Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley, 1926), IV:57 (hereafter cited as Palou, *Historical Memoirs*).
9. "No dudo que el Capitán Rivera convendrá á ello y se fundará una ó dos misiones," as cited by Engelhardt, *The Missions*, II:168, and cf. Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, IV:57, 388, n27.
10. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano Mission* (Los Angeles, 1922), p. 3 (hereafter cited as *San Juan Capistrano*).
11. As Father Geiger observed, "The agreement was made not without difficulty and only after long negotiations," *Palou's Life*, 428, n.11. Father Serra's own account of the negotiations with Rivera appears in a report he wrote to Bucareli on August 17, 1775. See *Writings of Junípero Serra*, II:300-305.
12. A customary salutation found frequently in Father Serra's letters. See *Writings*, II:25, 39, 44, 45, 49.
13. St. John Capistran was born in Capistrano, Italy, in 1385. After having served as governor of Perugia, he entered the Franciscan order on October 4, 1416. For thirty years after his ordination in 1420 he was a successful mission preacher in Italy and was assigned missions abroad on behalf of the popes. Sent first to deal with the Hussites, he was called finally to preach a crusade against the Turks who in 1453 had captured Constantinople. He accompanied the Hungarian General Hunyadi during the great victory at Belgrade in 1456, but shortly after, on October 23, 1456, he died of the plague. He was canonized in 1724. For further details on the mission's patron, see Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 232-235.
14. Father Serra was familiar with the territory he described, having camped in the valley, then called Cañada de San Francisco Solano, with other members of the Portolá expedition on July 24-26, 1769. An account of that camp site appears in *The Diary of Miguel Costansó*, edited by Frederick J. Teggert (Berkeley, 1911), pp. 14-15.
15. The earthquake from which the San Gabriel Mission drew its descriptive epithet occurred on July 28, 1769, as reported in *Costansó*, 16-17.
16. A standard Spanish measure of distance, a league measured 5,000 varas, or about 2.6 miles.
17. This reference to the distance of the proposed site from the sea would seem to be unique in Father Serra's writings, cf. *Writings of Junípero Serra*, II:311; *Palou's Life*, 158; and Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, IV:58. The terms, "Oceano Asiático" or "Mar del Sur" were the customary designations for the Pacific Ocean used by the Spanish explorers of the eighteenth century, as is evidenced by the map Costansó drew in 1770, which was printed at Madrid by Hipólito Ricarte in 1771. It is listed by Pedro Torres Lanzas in his *Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, & de México y Floridas* (Seville, 1900), I:181-182, no. 255.
18. Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, who was born at Vitoria, Spain, on June 7, 1736, entered the Franciscan Order in 1751 and was ordained, probably in Mexico, before February 25, 1761. He began his missionary work in Baja California, where he remained until the Franciscans turned over their missions to the Dominicans in 1773. Then he traveled overland, first to San Diego and then to San Gabriel Mission. He served as a supernumerary at San Gabriel until June of 1775 when he became personal chaplain to Commandant Rivera and ministered to the soldiers and their families at the Monterey Presidio. For a biographical account of Father Lasuén's life subsequent to his assignment to San Juan Capistrano Mission, and of his work following his appointment as Father Serra's successor in 1785, see Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California* (San Marino, 1969):136-142 (hereafter Geiger, *Missionaries*).
19. Father Gregorio Amurió was born at Bastida, Spain, in 1744,





*A romantic view of the ruins of Serra's sixth mission outpost, San Juan Capistrano, painted by Lemuel M. Wiles one hundred years after its founding in 1776.*

and became a Franciscan, March 18, 1760. Having served at Mission Santa Gertrudis in Baja California from 1771-1773, Father Amurrió traveled overland to San Diego Mission where he remained until May, 1774. His next assignment was at Mission San Luis Obispo, where he received Father Serra's assignment as specified in this document. Thereafter, Father Amurrió journeyed south with Father Lasuén as far as San Gabriel Mission. For further data on Father Amurrió's life, see Geiger, *Missionaries*, 13-15, and Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 212-213.

20. Especially in the early mission period, "California" was used to designate the present Baja California. Therefore, to prevent confusion, the translator has rendered Father Serra's "California" here as Baja California.
21. Although seemingly impossible to give an exact modern equivalent for the *tercio*, a unit of measure used frequently by Father Serra, see Manuel Carrera Stampa, "The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIX (1949):2-24. It may be possible to approximate its capacity by referring to an analogous English measure, the *tierce*. As early as 1590, the *tierce* or *terce* was defined as being equal to one-third of a pipe, or forty-two gallons. As late as 1820 it referred to a cask or vessel holding that quantity, usually of wine, but also of various kinds of both dry and liquid provisions. See Ronald Edward Zupko, *A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures* (London, 1968), p. 170.
22. A dry-measure equivalent to about 1.6 bushels.
23. Gentiles were Indians who had not as yet embraced the Catholic Faith. While receiving instruction they were referred to as catechumens, and after baptism they were termed neophytes.
24. Originally, San Buenaventura was planned as the third mission, to serve the central coast between the missions of San Diego and Monterey. Owing to difficulties between the military unit and the Indians at the San Gabriel Mission, however, this plan was altered. While awaiting the foundation of San Buenaventura, the provisions and materials initially assigned to that mission were stored at San Gabriel. On this arrangement, see *Palou's Life*, 120, and Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, II:321-328.
25. The memorial mentioned here was Father Serra's thirty-two article report on the general conditions and chief needs of the missions, which he wrote on March 13, 1773, during his visit to Mexico City. Addressed to Viceroy Bucareli, this memoran-

dum's sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth articles relate to the need of the missions for iron, forges, and blacksmiths. A complete text of the memorial appears in *Writings of Junípero Serra*, I: 294-327. Its composition and effects are discussed in *Palou's Life*, 140; Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, III:1-36; and Engelhardt, *The Missions*, II:100-133.

26. Father Miguel Campa y Cos, born in Durango, Mexico, in 1719, became a Franciscan on December 7, 1742. Having served in the Sierra Gorda Mission for over twenty years, he sailed to Baja California in 1768 and was placed in charge of Mission San Ignacio, a post he relinquished to the Dominicans in 1773 when he returned to Mexico City. As a ship's chaplain with the Heceta expedition to the northwestern waters, Campa kept a diary, and after landing at Monterey, he traveled with Heceta and Father Palou to San Francisco on their search for a possible mission site. Father Campa journeyed back to Mexico in 1775, and though he continued an active Franciscan career, appears never to have visited Alta California again. See *Palou's Life*, 148, and Palou, *Historic Memoirs*, I:1026.
27. Father Juan Prestamero, born in 1736, attended the Franciscan novitiate at Vitoria together with Father Lasuén. Having sailed from Spain in 1759, he was ordained in Mexico City, but was sent back to Spain because of ill health. In 1773, he was again in the New World, arriving first at the San Diego Mission and then continuing north to San Luis Obispo where he was stationed as a supernumerary. In 1774, Prestamero left Alta California and ultimately disaffiliated himself from missionary work, as Geiger reports in *Missionaries*, 197-198.
28. Born in the Diocese of Pamplona, Spain, Father Vicente Imás arrived at Mexico City in 1770 and was assigned to the missions of Baja California. He sailed from Loreto to San Blas with Martínez in 1772, but seems never to have served in Alta California. He was permitted to cease missionary activity in 1783. For further data on Father Imás, see *Palou's Life*, 134.
29. Just as the document began with a characteristic Serra salutation, it closes with his distinguishing signature flourish. See Geiger, *Missionaries*, title page.
30. *Palou's Life*, 158-159; Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, IV:58-60; and Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 4-6.
31. *Palou's Life*, 177-180; Palou, *Historical Memoirs*, IV:151; and Engelhardt, *San Juan Capistrano*, 7.

"EAT  
ME  
AND  
GROW  
YOUNG  
!"

Peel away the skin of a navel orange and, whatever your age, let the aroma and the juice take you back fifty or seventy years. Be reborn in a time when good health and happiness came freshly squeezed, in a place where the mind's eye might linger on California landscapes grooved and quilted by endless acres of citrus groves. The time and the land have changed since then, but the evocative images are preserved in an imaginative genre of commercial art, the orange crate label. Produced for over a half-century, box-end labels promoted memorable pictorial symbols of Southern California's new-found pride and promise.

Oranges and California, of course, have not always been synonymous in the national consciousness. None of the citrus species is indigenous to the New World, and in the years after 1849, the gold beckoning at the end of California's rainbow seemed to be in its northern stream beds, not in its dry southern soil. A few patient experiments planted imported and mission seedlings, however, and by the 1880's the gold-seekers strike had become a plot of agricultural land where gold grew on citrus trees, available for the planting and picking. Linked in this way to a national dream, orange crate labels encouraged the golden myth with fanciful, even audacious, symbols and brand names, epitomized perhaps in the orange-grower's claim, "Eat Me and Grow Young."

The label lithography and box-end imagery that popularized the fruit and helped sustain the promising romantic image of California began in 1877 when William Wolfskill experimentally shipped a car-load of carefully-packed oranges to St. Louis—a month-long journey never before attempted. Wolfskill's wooden crates containing the dusty but edible fruit were branded on the box-ends, "Wolfskill California Oranges," in a beginning gesture at advertising the first domestically-grown fruit.

Within ten years, every new grower packing shipments for the Midwest and East Coast also sought to establish the identity of his brand in the public eye. If at first it seemed that printed paper labels were a frivolous embellishment (if remunerative for the men who printed them), by the 1890's the brightly colored labels had become a marketing necessity. Most growers, usually small family operations, had taken their seedlings from the same Brazilian parent trees that Eliza, or her husband Luther, Tibbets carefully nurtured in Riverside, and labels became both a means of distinguishing one packer's shipment from his neighbor's, as well as a celebration of the citrus grower's success.

Ms. Gordon and Mr. Salkin, authors of *Orange Crate Art* (Warner Books, 1976), collect and sell original California label art. They live and work in San Francisco.



Because the new California produce met with stiff competition from the well-established Spanish and Italian imports, an Americanization campaign was quickly launched wherein many labels incorporated patriotic themes, including Uncle Sam, the Liberty Bell, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln. Perhaps the most crucial application of label art, however, was the “selling” of California.

Labels were designed not only to identify the fruit grower’s name and location, but to associate his brand with a romantic image of California living. Citrus growers needed more railroad lines, water for irrigation, and consumer recognition, and these developments were contingent upon a steady flow of new settlers to the sparsely populated southern portion of the state. Labels, they reasoned, were a convenient and functional form of publicity.

For the manufacture of the labels, local growers first looked to the expertise of the established San Francisco printers whose engraving techniques had been successfully employed for the opulently-designed stock certificates in high demand in the years after the Gold Rush. Many small printing companies had been nearly dormant since that time, and they eagerly revived their operations to produce labels.

Perhaps the most ambitious of these printers was Max Schmidt, a young German immigrant whose relatives had mailed him the directions for stone lithography which had originated in Austria. Schmidt had been producing small labels for wine merchants, and he rose to the new demand by expanding the orange crate label to the full 10 x 11” box-end size. Working closely with his salesman-and-artist team, Schmidt published a booklet of “stock label” designs printed without grower names. Included were samples of the rich imagery that soon became popular on the flamboyant crate labels: beautiful women, flowers, and scenery.

Typically, a company’s sales force traveled into the small towns such as Pasadena, Riverside, Pomona, Santa Ana, San Bernardino, and Santa Paula which seemed to spring up wherever an orange-tree seedling was planted. Meeting the grower in the sometimes remote fields, the men improvised new designs by using the stock label books and adding cut-out “vignettes” such as bunches of voluptuous fruit, a snapshot of the grower’s wife, or a sketch aggrandizing the grower’s home. The “scissormen,” as they became known, created paper symbols of the pride and vanity that perpetuated the California Dream and come down to us today in the richly colored labels.

By 1902, when Schmidt merged with Galloway and Dickman-Jones to form the Mutual Litho Company, the firm was able to supply hundreds of growers with some of the most intricate commercial labels ever to be

# ORANGE CRATE ART IN THE GOLDEN STATE

produced. By blending a few selected ink colors, sixty separate colors with “secret formulas” were created for use on painstakingly hand-stippled limestone printing blocks, and bronze metallic inks and varnishes added a golden glow to the labels. Most designs by the now-anonymous artists were ornate, delicate, and posterlike, stylistically inspired by French artists like Alphonse Mucha and exploring every romantic notion of California life.

While the earliest orange crate labels were personal statements—homespun, family-oriented, and feminine in their appeal—the emergence of new lithography houses in Los Angeles after 1910 introduced a new approach to brand-naming and label art. Accordingly, the old labels were repeatedly redrawn and modernized, as simplified, high-speed printing techniques called for updated images. Cars, planes, women, and California scenes were revamped.

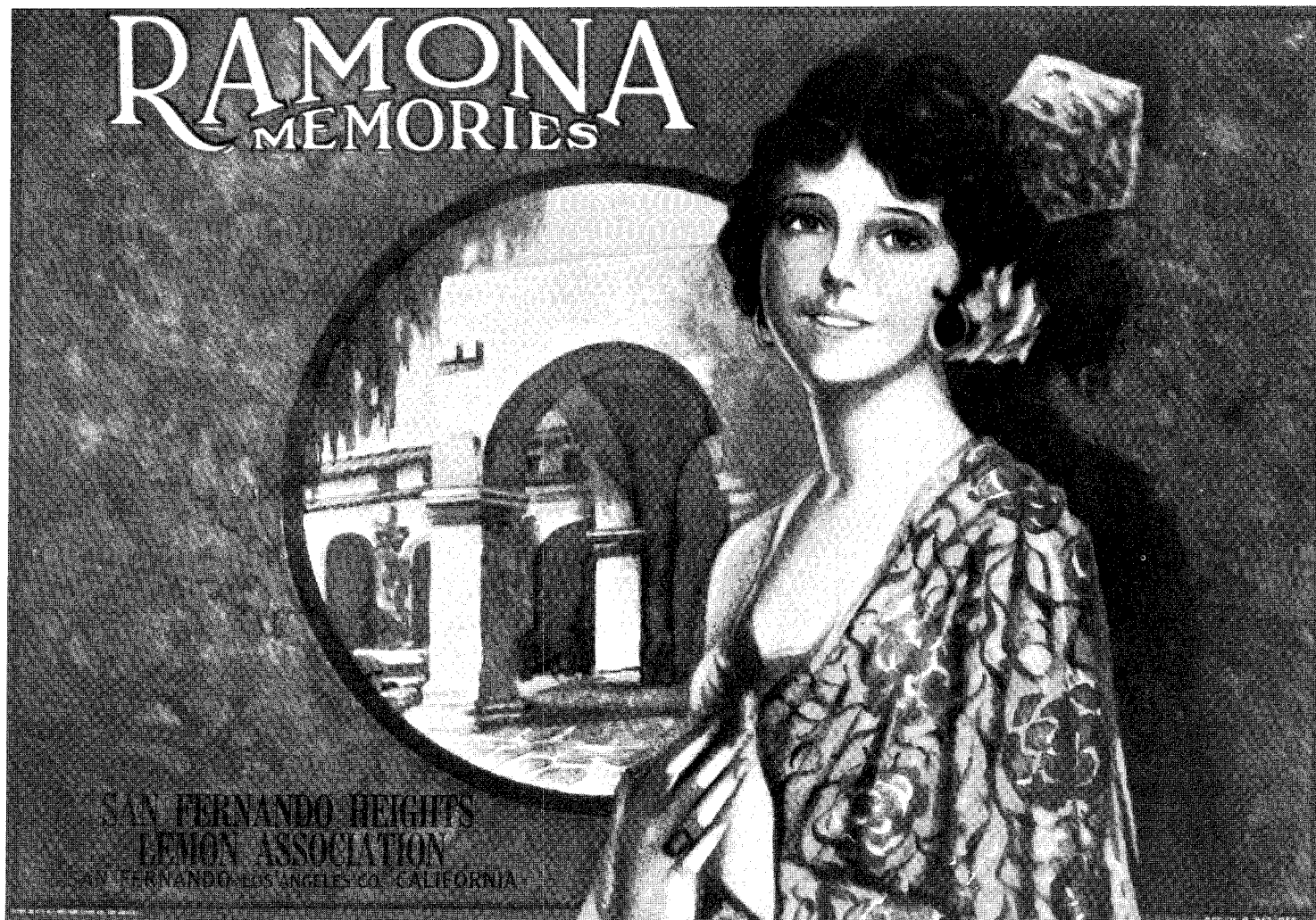
The California Fruit Growers Exchange, a cooperative organization formed in 1893 that shipped and marketed fruit for thousands of growers, developed the Sunkist logo and suggested the use of themes in labels. Exchange advertising-department bulletins, pamphlets, and studies urged their affiliates to use bolder images and to relinquish the naive look of the old “family” brands. Recognizing the impact of striking label art, they increased their use (and added to the lithographer’s coffers) by establishing three separate brand names for each grower which signified the various grades of fruit.

By the late 1920’s and early 1930’s art director Archie Vasquez at Western Lithograph in Los Angeles brought label design to a peak of stylization. Vasquez employed art deco lines and more vivid and unique coloration to increase “readability and recognition,” vital advertising factors. His experimentation with airbrush shading coincided with the pioneering “billboard” approach used by art directors like San Francisco’s Othello Michetti. Soon the streamlined and dramatic billboard lettering edged out the allegorical renderings of the early labels, for it drew attention to the lettering of the catchy brand name rather than focusing the eye on pleasant but forgettable illustration elements.

In the late 1930’s and early 1940’s the combination of photography and lithography in label art heralded a new design era. Suddenly, however, World War II rationing and material shortages necessitated the substitution of the cardboard box for the wooden crate, the allocation of metal for airplanes rather than printing plates, and the replacement of the colorful label with an efficient but dull two-color stamp.

After the war fifty years of “selling California” resulted in the massive redevelopment of the southland never anticipated in the early years of the





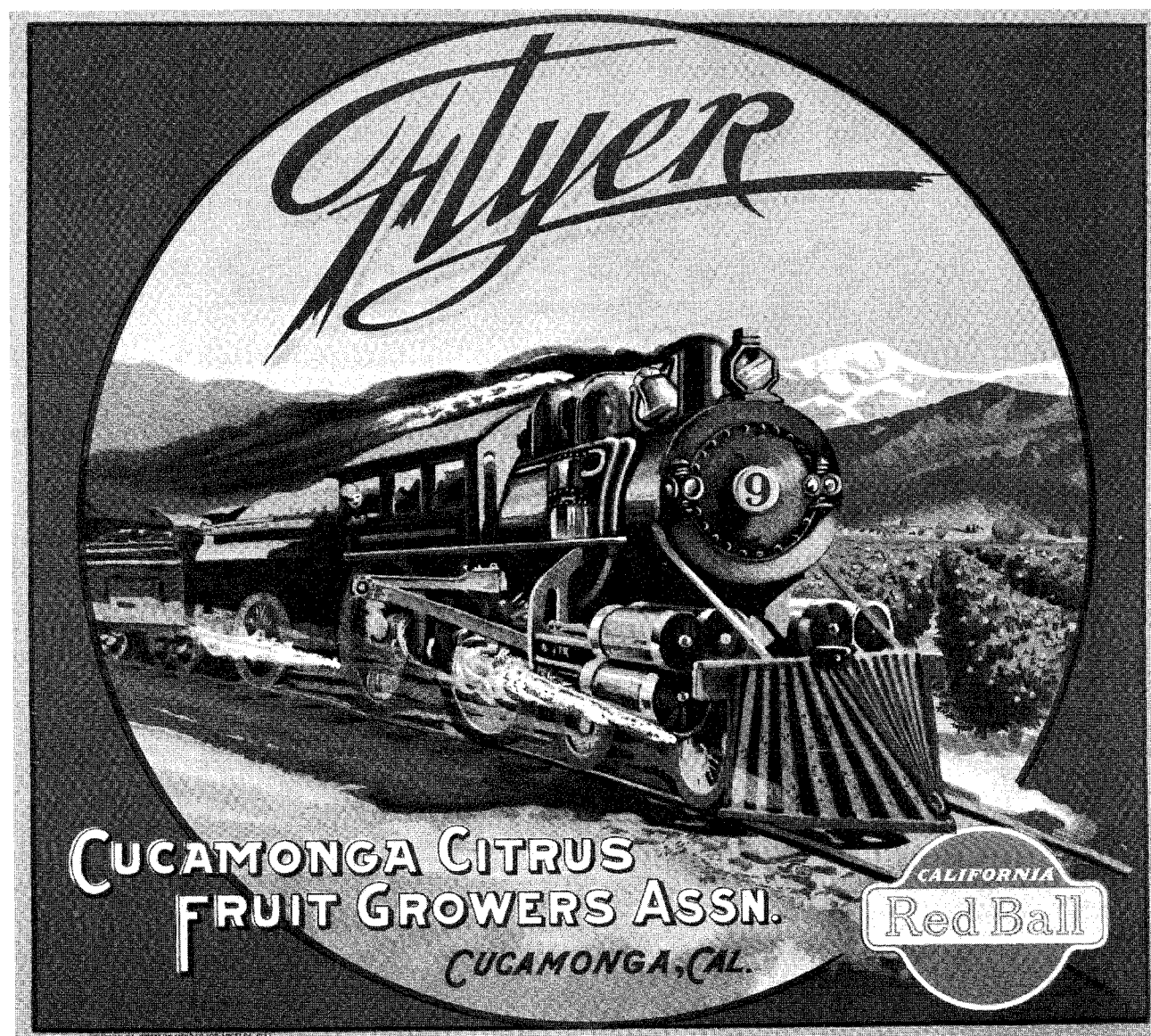
promotion of “orange gold.” Accordingly, optimistic slogans such as “Oranges for Health, California for Wealth” and the labels that had helped lure thousands of settlers to the West were quietly retired. The fantasy of the fruited plain transformed into a suburban vision, and new housing spread across the fields that were once covered with citrus. As ousted growers moved north and inland, thousands of labels were abandoned in hundreds of packing houses throughout the state.

At the turn of the century, crate labels had been collected by nostalgic growers and children who swapped them like baseball cards. Today, they are collectable again. Box-end label art has become important source material for commercial designers who learn from the anonymous artists’ integration of design, innovative lettering, and the art of lithography. Historians, citrus affiliates, students, and artists have begun building collections of the myriad brand labels being rediscovered.

The attention that labels now receive is well deserved. The historic box-end advertising provides a uniquely indigenous catalogue of California imagery and business enterprise.



Swift cross-continental transportation had been recognized as the key to successful marketing of citrus fruits since William Wolfskill's "Orange Car" railroad experiment in 1877, and the train was the single most important asset to growers in opening new markets in the East and Midwest. The Flyer brand label glorifies this critical association between boxcar shipping and box-end marking. Images of ships, trains, and aeroplanes conveyed the essence of modernity, freshness, and speed that characterized the industry.













To keep designs current, brand labels such as Airship were regularly redrawn to portray the most modern plane of the day. Similarly, while the 1910 version of Windermere Ranch features a horse-drawn cart, the 1920's reworked label substituted a black roadster for the old-fashioned carriage. On a variant transportation theme, Canal brand pays tribute to the opening of the Panama Canal, a long-anticipated and important event for West Coast commerce which shortened the many months required for the shipments of goods around Cape Horn.



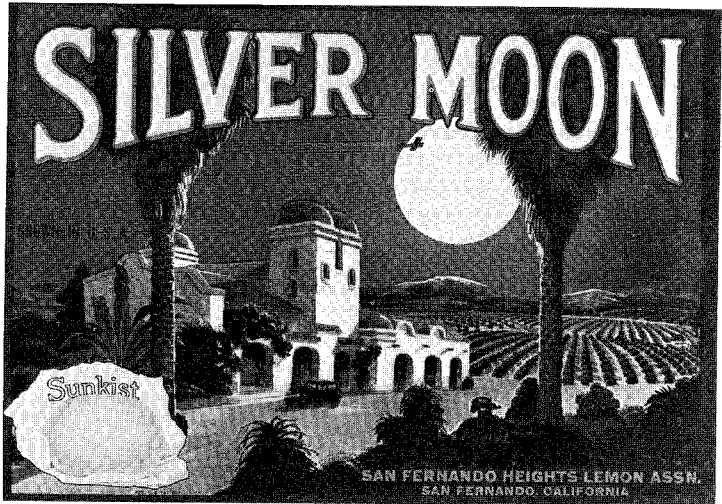
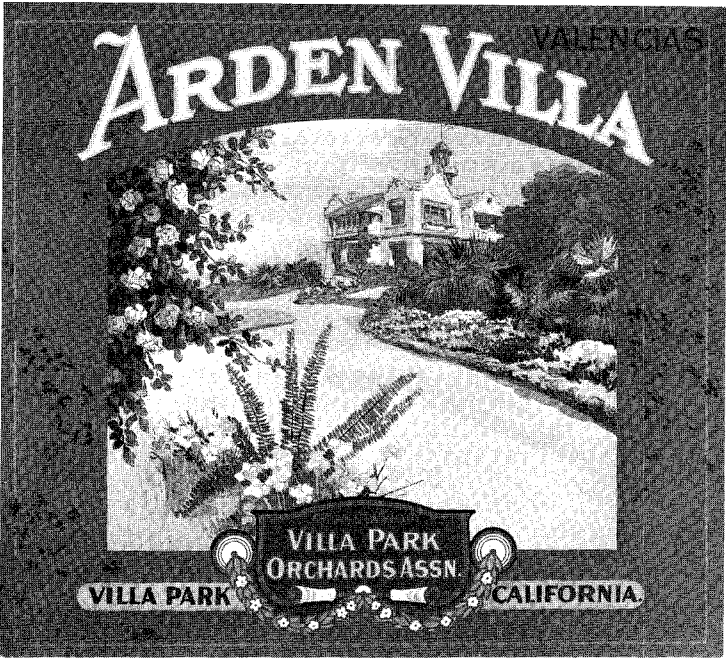
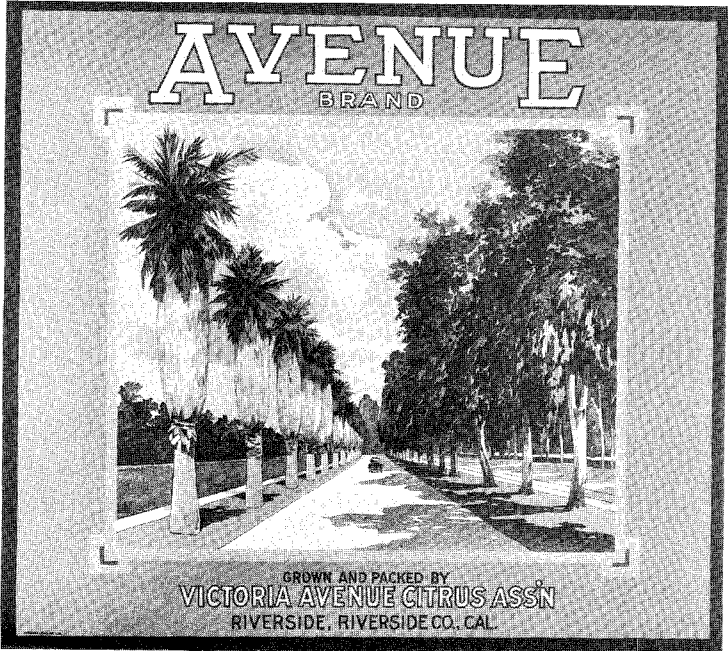
Like the popular postcards of 1910 that read, "I will eat oranges for you and you may throw snowballs for me," designs on labels perpetuated the alluring fantasy of an always green and sunny California. Images of lush groves and beautiful buildings were calculated to whet the appetites of potential citrus-belt settlers from the East.

Often the labels' settings were real, like the new public library in the Miss Los Angeles design or tree-lined Victoria Avenue. Sometimes they were more fanciful, like the splendor of Arden Villa.

Orange culture began with the tart, seedy fruit planted by the mission fathers, and many labels pay tribute to these Spanish origins. While the 1915 version of the Silver Moon label shows the San Fernando Valley to be empty and serene, the redesign circa 1930 includes three symbols of modernization: a car parked in front of the mission, city lights at the horizon line, and an airplane crossing before the full moon.









TRADE MARK REGISTERED

# Basketball

BRAND  
GROWN IN U. S. A.  
**BROGDEX**  
FRUIT X

CALIFORNIA  
Red Ball

GROWN IN U. S. A.

COLLEGE HEIGHTS ORANGE & LEMON ASS'N.  
CLAREMONT, LOS ANGELES CO. CALIFORNIA

SELLING AGENTS  
SAN ANTONIO FRUIT EXCHANGE

# ATHLETE

**BROGDEX**  
FRUIT X

GROWN IN U. S. A.

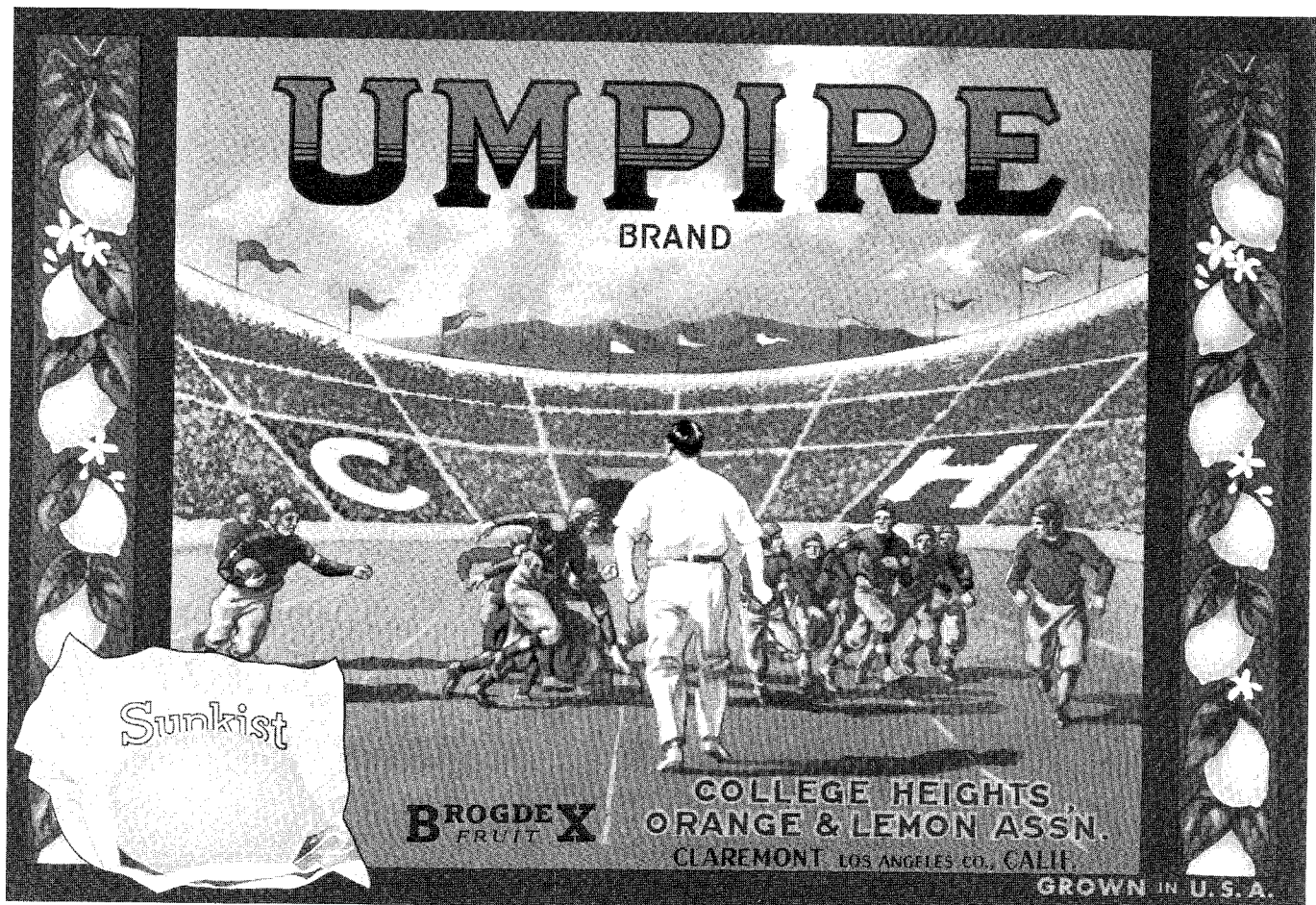
GROWN AND PACKED BY  
COLLEGE HEIGHTS ORANGE & LEMON ASSN.  
CLAREMONT, LOS ANGELES CO. CALIFORNIA

Sunkist

SELLING AGENTS  
SAN ANTONIO FRUIT EXCHANGE



Brand names served two functions. Like advertising slogans, they were catchy and colorful, and they also contained a private coding of quality. Through a thematic group like the athletic series used by the College Heights Association of Claremont, growers were able to identify three grades of fruit: fancy, choice, and good. A system created by the California Fruit Growers Exchange, it was eagerly promoted by the lithography houses for its increased demands for label designs. While the casual shopper at a local grocery store seldom realized the difference because the labels were equally elaborate, the auction jobber buying massive quantities of crates could quickly refer to a pocket-sized reference book published by the cooperatives to select his best buys.





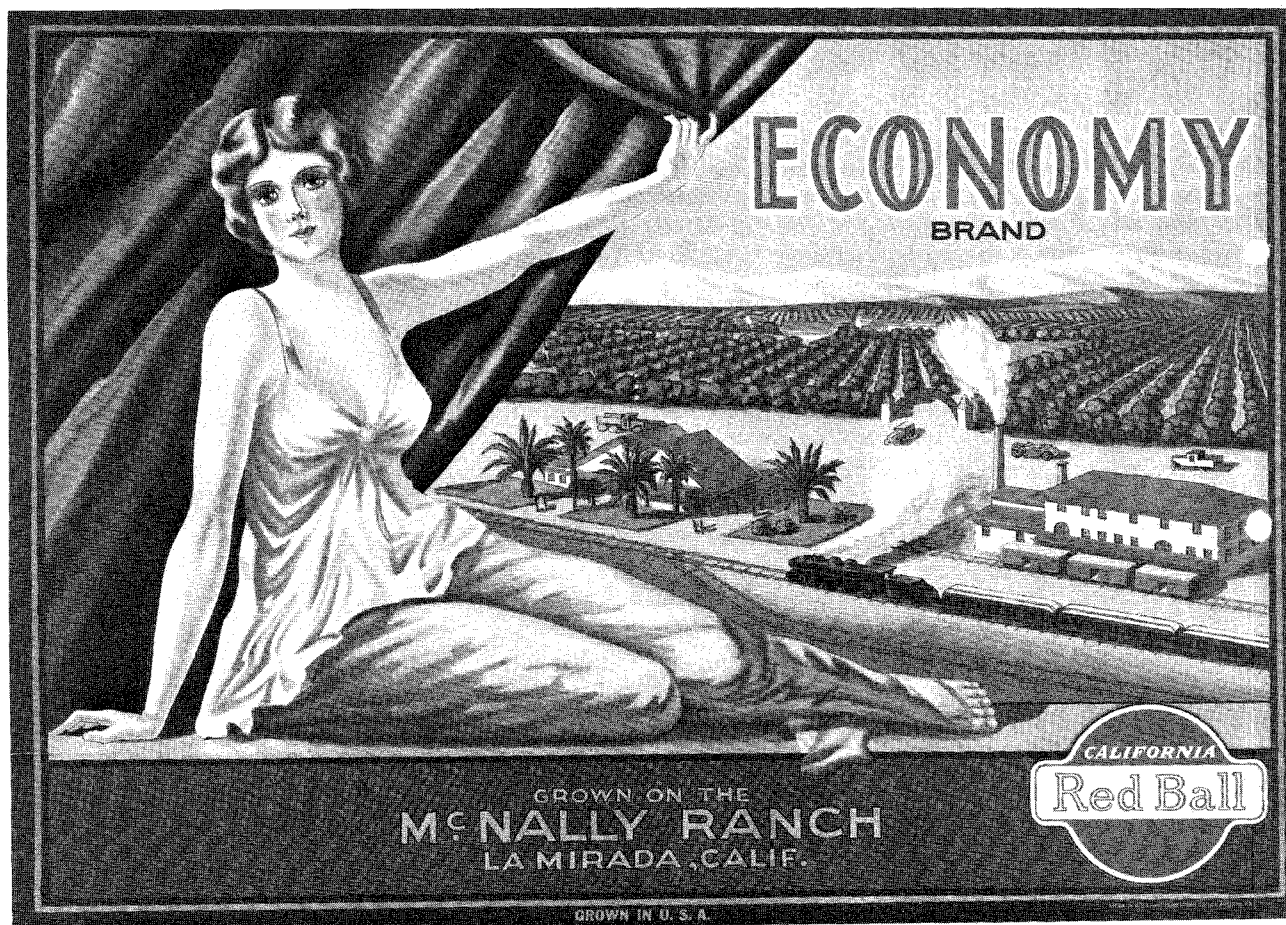
The citrus-industry boom was frequently called "the second gold rush" and crate labels often utilized the imagery. Prospectors panning for gold depicted the parallels, and the Mazuma brand featured an Indian term for money. Countless other brands alluded to the gold theme, including Golden Gate, Golden Sceptre, Golden Need, Gold Buckle, Golden Treat, Golden Orange, Golden Cross, and Golden Rule.















The earliest crate labels were designed with the housewife in mind, often appealing to a feminine and domestic outlook. Pictures of happy children, bowls of fruit on lace tablecloths, and floral scenes were especially prevalent at the turn of the century.

In 1918, however, the California Fruit Growers Exchange conducted a study which led to a new marketing awareness. They discovered, to their dismay, that only .5 per cent of the women interviewed could recall the brand name of an orange, and they concluded, "If the label is to catch anyone's pride or vanity, it should be the buyer, the jobber in the East." Accordingly, throughout the late 1920's and 1930's, women—already popular label symbols—became increasingly seductive in image in an obvious play to attract male buyers at East Coast auctions.



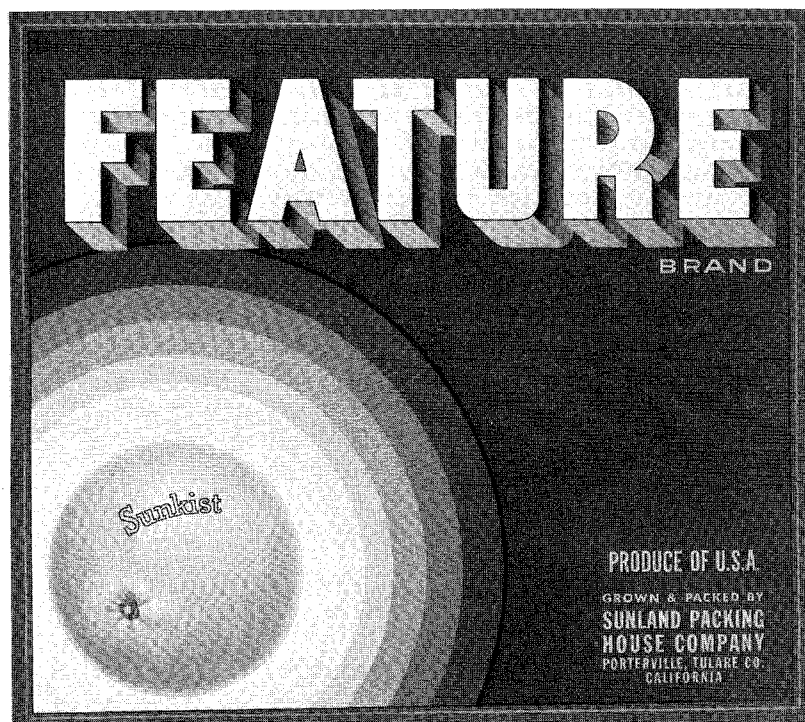
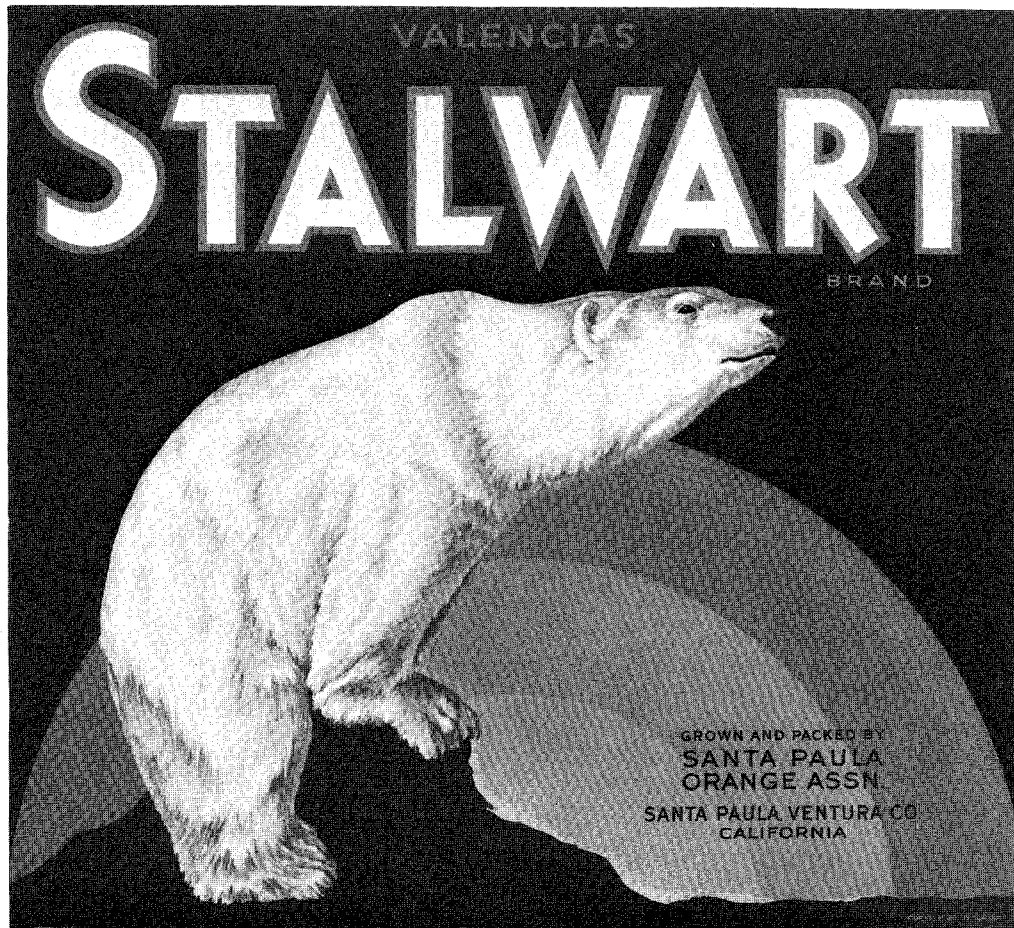
Another label theme developed to appeal especially to the masculine fantasy of auction jobbers was the wild west. Although peaceful California Indians had lived on much of the fertile land being developed for citrus growing, label designers favored the war whoop and other shoot-out commercial distillations of the westward experience. Usually the labels included stereotypical Indian images and phrases like "heap good" or "o-how-good," but one label depicting an Indian maiden carrying a basket is correctly titled, "American Girl."













## Orange Crate Art

The billboard style of design incorporated graphic elements of speed and perspective that rendered the labels instantly readable. Introduced in the late 1930's and early 1940's, it was the last design phase before orange-crate labeling was discontinued. While some might lament the evolution of the stark design that superseded the earlier sumptuous and delicate illustrations, the boldly slanting and enlarged lettering was much more easily remembered than the earlier subtle stone lithography and soft images. Orange crate labels—commercial art—had come of age. □

The orange crate labels are in the authors' collection.



## Day-by-Day Records: Diaries from the CHS Library Part II

## REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

The following annotated bibliography is the second listing in the *Quarterly* of diaries held by the Library of the California Historical Society. The first, appearing in the Winter 1975 issue, included fifty diaries, and a third future list will complete the record. Of the fifty diaries annotated below, twenty-five are originals, and the remainder are copies of originals held in other libraries or in private hands. While the first listing emphasized diaries—twenty-four in number—written on the long overland journey from the East to California, only ten overland accounts appear here. The main emphasis in this second bibliography is on twenty-six of the forty-nine journals in the collection documenting the arduous sea voyage to California.

Diaries, or day-by-day records written shortly after events occurred, frequently document out-of-the-ordinary periods of the diarists' lives, and individuals who found themselves in frontier California before the Gold Rush often took up diaries to express and preserve their thoughts, actions, and experiences. One member of Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers, John McHenry Hollingsworth, appeared in the first listing, and two more members, Joshua S. Vincent and Kimball Hale Dimmick, are noted here. Fur-trading adventurer John Dominis describes his life between 1827 and 1830, and the accounts of whalers Philip G. Bailey and Richard M. Sherman begin in 1844. All three sailed to the Sandwich Islands.

The urge to keep a diary affected the educated and barely literate, the wealthy and poor, and the young and old, and the occupation most often mentioned in this list after sailor or crewman is physician. Dr. Samuel W. Brown treats the ship-board ill on his voyage to the West, while Dr. Dean J. Locke administers on an overland journey, indicating incidentally that medical doctors also caught gold fever. On the other hand, a rural Nevada County doctor, Noble Martin, calls on the sick only as a sideline to his main employment in a lumber mill. The wife of eye doctor Jack F. Dickson describes in detail the illnesses which plagued most frontier households, and the diary of a dentist, Dr. Charles Bates, includes specific instructions on frontier dental techniques.

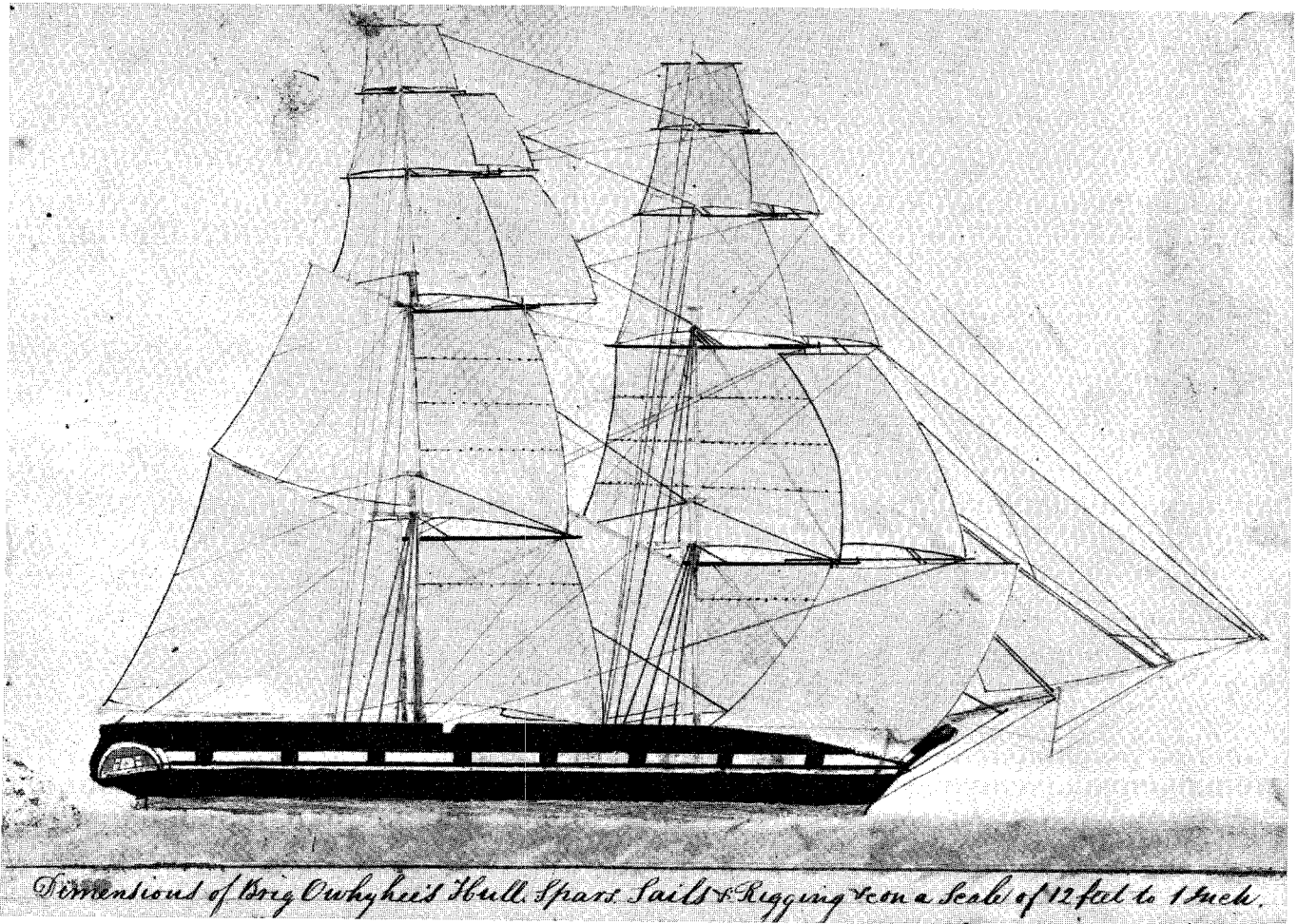
Six diaries in this listing contain entries spanning more

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Ms. Donovan is CHS manuscript librarian



*From 1827 to 1830 Owyhee captain John Dominis (or, possibly, the first mate) logged events of three Pacific voyages and sketched to scale the brig's hull, spars, sails, and riggings.*



than five years. George Kellogg documents his life from age nineteen to ninety, covering events in the years 1847-1918. Joseph Lamson logs events of his 1852 sea voyage and his subsequent wanderings in Northern California and Oregon. Nelson Crocker Hawks, printer and typefounder, describes his work in Wisconsin and, after 1874, in California. Housewife Lillian Dickson jots entries over the years 1901 to 1928, noting the 1906 earthquake and fire and her first voting registration in 1920. Teenage diarists in the listing include Sam Partridge, an Oakland High School student in 1879; Rachael Enloe, who describes a summer hunting trip in 1870; and Emma Corlies, who journeyed overland by train in 1877.

The variety of diarists represented in the collection illustrates that many kinds and classes of people were attracted to making daily record of their activities. Businessman Frank W. Page, inventor Thomas Varney, clubwoman Maria L. Varney, and antiquarian bookseller Epes Ellery—all San Franciscans—kept regular diaries, and the spectrum of their observations enables researchers to build a rich perspective on the social, cultural, and business life of the city in the 1850's.

To the eleven women's diaries included in the 1973 bibliography, this listing adds eight more accounts. Two women traveled West to join men, one her father and one her husband after a three-year separation. Four women diarists led

traditional lives as housewives, although Georgiana Bruce Kirby had previously been a prison warden with Eliza Farnham and Julia S. Twist had worked as a photographer in Wisconsin to earn the fare for the trip to the West.

The entries below are organized in the following manner: listed first are the known general facts, such as name, vital dates, place of birth, place of residence if different from birth and occupation(s). The next section identifies the diary's specific characteristics, *i.e.*, its time span and approximate number of pages. (The existence of the original text is assumed unless otherwise noted.) The third section of the listing describes the contents of the diary and analyzes the diary's readability and research value. Finally, the bibliography includes information about the publication of the diary or any portion of it.

More extensive information about diaries listed in the bibliography is available through the diary index forms filed in the Library. Researched by CHS staff members, docents, Oberlin College intern students, and San Francisco State University students enrolled in a course in archives and research, these forms are complete descriptive guides which supply subject headings and name entries. Together, the bibliography and the diary index forms facilitate the use of the manuscripts by fully describing their contents.

A final word of appreciation is offered to the many donors whose gifts have made the Library's diary collection valuable for research and to James deT. Abajian who contributed helpful information to the listing below. Reprints of Parts I and II of the diary listing may be purchased from the Library.

ANONYMOUS, member of an overland journey party to California.

*Typed copy of travel diary, May-September 1852, with some 1857 entries, 16 pages.*

Overland journey from St. Joseph, Missouri to Pleasant Valley, California; focus on hardships of the five-month journey to Virginia City, weather and travel conditions, encounters with Indians, description of territory and settlements, names of rivers and mountains, prices of foodstuffs; readable if mundane account of an eastern adventurer.

ANONYMOUS, of Rhode Island; passenger on *Reindeer* (ves.)

*Travel diary, May-July 1853, 44 pages.*

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Cape

*"Nothing in sight but the Heavens and old sun with his smiling deceitful face. If the heavens [are] the emblem of truth, so is the sea the prototype of all that is false, deceitful, and treacherous."*

*Anonymous, Logbook of the Reindeer, 1833*

Horn; attention to temperature and barometric readings, weather, sunsets and rainbows at sea; interesting observations on nautical life.

ANONYMOUS, Alameda resident.

*Diary, November 1858-January 1859, 8 pages.*

Diarist traveled from New York to China before settling at an Alameda boarding house where her husband, who worked in San Francisco, visited her; describes routine days reading novels, sewing and crocheting, making calls, and taking drives with another woman boarder; clearly written but uneventful.

BAILEY, Philip G.; crewman on whaling ship.

*Photostat of travel diary, November 3, 1844-April 9, 1845, 24 pages.*

Sea voyage aboard *George Champlin* from Newport, Rhode Island, to Sandwich Islands via Cape Horn; brief descriptions of sailing conditions, chores, whale chases; entries repetitive.

BATES, Charles (1852-?), of Brazil and California; dentist.

*Travel and daily diary, September 1873-May 1881, 153 pages.*

Sea voyage from Rio de Janeiro to San Francisco aboard the *Itasca* with his mother; enthusiastic observer of ship's passage, winds, weather, shipboard routines; detailed description of dental techniques, impressions of San Francisco after an eight year absence, especially the increase in Chinese inhabitants, living in Berkeley; highly readable.

BRADLEY, H. S. (1829-?), of Massachusetts.

*Travel diary, November 1849-May 1850, 166 pages.*

Log book of *Orion* on passage from Boston to San Francisco with comments on weather, winds and sails, murder on ship; list of passengers and crew and residences prior to journey; sea chanties, poetry; factual account.

BROOKES, Samuel Marsden (1816-1892), b. London, artist.

*Diary, 1871, 60 pages.*

Brief and scattered entries of cash accounts, notes on sales



and commissions for paintings and portraits, inventory of art works in 1874; interesting account of successful artist.

BROWN, Dr. Samuel W. (1802-1862), of Hartford, Connecticut; physician.

*Travel diary, April 1849-October 1850, 181 pages.*

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; crew and passengers were members of Frémont Mining and Trading Co., of which Brown was chairman of the board; detailed description of shipboard life, disciplining of crew members, flora and fauna, weather, 49ers in Brazil; strong moral tone to entries. Diary accompanied by letters to family and friends in Connecticut.

CARROLL, Katharine R., b. New York.

*Diary, January-June 1934, 100 pages.*

Daily events of socially-active San Francisco woman; describes meetings of many organizations, including California Historical Society, California Literary Society, California Writers Club; gossipy account.

CARSON, William McKendree, of Maryland.

*Photostat of typed transcription of travel diary, January-July 1849, 18 pages, and photostat of handwritten travel diary, November 1870, 7 pages.*

1849 sea voyage of Argonauts aboard the *Jane Parker* sailing from Baltimore to San Francisco via Cape Horn; descriptions of birds, fish, sea life, weather conditions and daily activities of passengers.

1870 diary details return journey to New York via Panama with wife, six children, and Chinese cook; fascinating descriptive style with scientific interest in nature.

COLEMAN, George P.; seaman.

*Photostat copy of travel diary, March-July 1849, 36 pages.*

Sea voyage from New Bedford to San Francisco via Cape Horn aboard the *Russell* accompanied by fifty-five men, some members of the Nantucket Mining Company; concerned with weather, fishing and food; two exciting descriptions of fishing adventures; straightforward style.

CORLIES, Emma, of Poughkeepsie, New York.

*Typed copy of travel diary, September 1877, 5 pages.*

Train journey to San Francisco from Poughkeepsie to meet father, accompanied by sister and black maid; anxiety over friends and family left behind; describes travel acquaintances, scenery, inconveniences, and tourist gimmicks; sensitive young woman's style.

"It always puts me in good spirits to gallop up the hills and view the wild mountain scenery, so on my return after taking in the clothes and all the wood that we chopped as the clouds looked ominous, I concluded that today for the first time in my life I would commence a journal. I think that perhaps I may die and my babe live, in which case it would be pleasant for the latter to have some record of my external and spiritual life during these important months; or should I survive this great trial of my physical powers and live to see my child grow up it will be interesting to me to see how far and in what manner my present and succeeding states of mind may have had influence in forming the character and consequently the external appearance of my child."

Georgianna Bruce Kirby diary, December 14, 1852

DICKSON, Lillian M. (1872-?); housewife.

*Diaries, 1901-1928, 12 volumes.*

Wife of eye doctor Jack F. Dickson who maintained practice and home in Portland, Oregon, as well as San Francisco; describes marriage, relationship with mother, household tasks, social life, health problems including discovery of tumor on uterus, 1906 earthquake and fire, learning to drive the Packard, registering to vote in 1920; scant emotional insight.

DIMMICK, Kimball Hale, of New York; U.S. Army Officer.

*Photostat and typed transcription of diary, April-October 1848, 29 pages.*

Young ordnance officer serving with the New York Volunteers at the San Francisco Presidio describes passage of ships, prices of food and books, news of Mexican War and president's possible impeachment, desertion of men to mine for gold, court martials and floggings for desertion, setting up trading business near Sutter's Fort; matter-of-fact account.

DOMINIS, John (1803-1846); ship's captain.

*Travel diaries, 1827-1830, 3 volumes, 200 pages.*

Logs of three voyages of the *Owyhee* sailing between Boston, Canton, the Sandwich Islands, and the northwest coast of America, possibly by the first mate rather than Dominis; concerned with weather reports, employment of the crew on board ship and trade goods (skins traded with Indians for muskets). The accompanying instructions of the agent from Bryant, Sturgis & Company contain more details than the logs; repetitive.

EASTIN, Thomas N., member of overland journey party.

*Photostat of travel diary, May-August 1849, 195 pages.*

Overland journey from Henderson, Kentucky, to California via Independence, Missouri, and the Santa Fe Trail; interesting for detailed descriptions of route.

"Farewell New York with your dirty streets, insolent porters, miserable beggars and dispicable steamboat agents. A home on the broad Atlantic is far preferable to a days sojourn in your midst.

The passengers are mostly in high glee. Occasionally one retires to the farthest corner of the cabin, looking sad and disconsolate, and an oft repeated sigh expresses the sentiment of the heart. At 5 the gong sounded for supper, a general rush is made for the table, all have good appetites having had no dinner. The one that has the best teeth, largest mouth, and the longest arm stands the best chance. Well, eat your fill, another day may find you with empty stomachs, and no desire to replenish them. Our room contains three berths and I select the upper one as my landing place, always prefering to live on the top shelf."

Julia S. Peck *Twist diary*, February 1, 1861

ELLERY, Epes (1830-1914), b. Gloucester, Mass.; book dealer.

*Travel diary*, August-October 1852, 52 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; occasional colorful descriptions of marine life. Diarist, early antiquarian book seller in California, may have bound the handsome volume. Included are four pages of personal and professional notes describing formula for edge gilding, paper coloring, and acids for bookbinding; diary is part of larger manuscript collection which includes receipts and invoices, 1853-1884.

ENLOE, Rachael (1853-?) b. Jackson, California; teenager.

*Typed copy of diary*, August-September 1870, 3 pages.

Written by sixteen-year-old on hunting trip while she kept camp for brothers and friend and occasionally carried a gun; description of moving camp, preparation of food and its dwindling supply, and the young men's hunting prowess; uncomplaining and enthusiastic account.

FERRELL, Robert N. (1820-1865) b. Greenbush, New York; gold miner.

*Photostat and typed transcription of travel diary*, June-December 1849, 32 pages.

Sea voyage of Arkansas from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn; wildlife, places visited, "Law at See," people and events; straightforward narrative of shipboard life.

HAWKS, Nelson Crocker (1840-1929) b. Milwaukee; d. Alameda; printer, typefounder, developer of American print system.

*Diaries*, January 1, 1855-February 1897, 15 volumes.

Begun at Delafield, Wisconsin, 1855, and continued to March 25, 1874, when Hawks moved to San Francisco; thorough descriptions of personal affairs and business as printer, typefounder, and dealer in printers' supplies in Wisconsin and in California where he represented Marder, Luse and Co., Chicago typefounders. In San Francisco Hawks was proprietor of the Pacific States Type Foundry. A five-page account details his visit to Chicago immediately following the 1871 fire. Some financial records included.

HAYES, W. E., of Boston; gold miner.

*Typed copy of travel diary*, January-May 1850, 41 pages.

Sea voyage from Boston to San Francisco via Cape Horn; lengthy description of Rio de Janeiro and Valparaíso; food and weather; detailed, moderately interesting reading.

KELLOGG, George J. (1828-1910) b. Cisero, New York; teacher, gold miner, horticulturist.

*Microfilm copy of diaries*, 1847-1910, 11 volumes on 2 reels.

Diaries span Kellogg's life from age nineteen to ninety; teaching school in Wisconsin, traveling overland to California, panning for gold, 1849 to 1852; describes Indians, weather, animals, traveling mishaps. Returns to Wisconsin in 1852, establishes a nursery. Later diaries deal with business as well as social calls, religion, and daily activities; early years especially interesting. Diaries accompanied by four volumes of record books, also on film.

KIRBY, Georgiana Bruce (1818-1887) b. Bristol, England; author, matron at Sing Sing Prison, farmer.

*Typed copy of diary*, December 1852-November 1853, 25 pages.

Describes thoughts while living with husband on isolated ranch near Santa Cruz, awaiting birth of first child and concern with mental and emotional effect on child; interesting comments on farm life, neighbors, national leaders, literature, religion, and slavery. Kirby located in Santa Cruz to join Eliza Farnham with whom she worked as an assistant warden at Sing Sing women's prison. Her book *Years of Experience* (1886) describes her life before Santa Cruz.

Published: Santa Cruz *Riptide*, September 30, 1948, with some deletions.



*Journal.*  
*of Events Etc. kept at sea*  
*during Voyage around Cape Horn.*  
*Commenced Aug 5<sup>th</sup> 1852*  
*on board Barque Gallego.*  
*Capt. George Ellery.*  
*Sailed from N.Y. for San Francisco*  
*2<sup>nd</sup> July 1852 arrived 7<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1853.*  
*Epes Ellery.*

LAMSON, Joseph (or James), (1825-?).

*Travel diaries, 1852-1861, 888 pages, 2 volumes.*

Sea voyage from Maine around Cape Horn to San Francisco on the *James W. Paige*; logging, mining for gold, traveling on river steamers and on foot in Northern California and Oregon, much of the time as an itinerant portrait painter; detailed description of geography, mining industry, politics, personalities, flora and fauna; exceptionally specific and well written. An additional volume of letters and fifty-one drawings is in the collection.

LEWIS, Edward M. (18??-1884); carriage maker, amateur minstrel.

*Travel diary, June-November 1865, 24 pages.*

Overland journey on horseback from New York to Salt Lake City; detailed account of overnight lodgings at telegraph stations along the way, food and drink, treatment of eye wound; three-page description of Salt Lake City; highly readable account.

*Receipts.*  
*1<sup>st</sup> For Edge gilding -*  
*Take 3 eggs smelt them well*  
*and reduce with twice or*  
*thrice the quantity of water*  
*according to the paper may*  
*be sized. Then stir in one*  
*teaspoonful of muriatic acid*  
*let stand 24 hours. Must*  
*be perfectly clean and to*  
*be strained through a rag.*  
*2<sup>nd</sup> to prepare the books or*  
*edges to be gilded -*  
*to be scrubbed very hard*  
*in places well and smooth*  
*ly scraped and burnished*  
*painted with a mixture*  
*of Red Ochre and*  
*redwood by*  
*and rubed dry with a*  
*brush the the gold leaf*  
*floated on - when dry to be*

Formulas or "receipts" for gilding and coloring the edges of book pages were recorded in the 1852-53 journal of antiquarian bookseller Epes Ellery.

*Itinerant artist J. Lamson sketched scenes on his travels, including "Onion Valley and Pilot Peak, Plumas County, 1857" where 'One-eyed Moore discovered rich diggings.'*

*"Parted with mother! The paternal roof; the graves of the dear departed. The scenes & friends of childhood & youth; no event of my life can leave a more vivid picture! Dying in full health & strength, to the early association of life, to my home, to my mother! Oh God I thank thee that we can die but once to any attachments of the heart! But I am taking my dearly loved child from all her endeared associations, dragging her from relations & acquaintances which she may never meet again. Oh, double responsibility to my lacerated heart!"*

*Maria L. Varney diary, May 6, 1852*

*"Arrived in San Francisco. Oh terribly happy day. All the questions relating to our long journey and safe arrival are settled! & once more after more than 3 long years of separation I again meet my worthy & much loved husband, & have the inestimable happiness to present our most noble & beautiful daughter, to her anxious & enquiring father. & we are all reunited in our own happy home: what more can we ask? what more can we wish?"*

*Maria L. Varney diary, June 16, 1852*

LOCKE, Dr. Dean J. (1823-1887) b. New Hampshire; medical doctor.

*Typed copy of travel diary, April 1849-April 1851, 12 pages.*

Overland journey from Boston to California via Buffalo, Sandusky, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Independence; notes on high cost of supplies, illnesses, an accidental shooting; matter-of-fact account.

LOGAN, John Quincy Adams (1829-?), of Pennsylvania; poet.

*Typed copy of travel diary, January 1852-1854, 13 pages.*

Sea voyage from New York through the Isthmus of Panama to San Francisco in 1852; a few California entries about diggings on the American River; sterile unreflective account of passage, Mexicans, scenery. Includes diarist's poems.

LYMAN, Chester Smith (1814-1890) b. Manchester, Connecticut; minister, professor of science at Yale University.

*Travel and daily diary, 1845-1854, 14 volumes. Typed transcription at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Round-trip sea voyage from New York to Sandwich*

Islands, with description of Islands, San Francisco, and San Jose; describes construction of a self-regulating rain gauge in Hilo, teaching at Royal School in Honolulu, surveying land between San Francisco and San Jose, mining for gold near Sutter's Fort; record of scenes and people and scientific interests; very descriptive, observant account.

Published: *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands*, 1845-1850 (Yale University Press, 1924) and excerpted in *California Historical Quarterly*, 11:180-202.

MCBRIDE, J. C. (1832-?) b. McBride's Mills, North Carolina; miner, explorer.

*Typed copy of travel and daily diary, May 1850-April 1854, 8 pages.*

Overland journey from Missouri to gold diggings in California; topography, distances, weather, Indians, French traders, and hardships of four-month trip; sailed the California coast and return to mining; enthusiastic adventurer's account.

MANN, Henry Rice (1814-1852) of Albion, Michigan.

*Incomplete typed copy of travel diary, May-September 1849, 25 pages.*

Overland journey from Missouri to Sacramento via Oregon Trail; scenery, landmarks, vegetation, road and weather conditions, distance traveled, Snake Indians, people encountered, survival concerns; readable. Includes personal account written to family about brief attempt to mine gold and early days in Sacramento.

MARTIN, Dr. Noble (1820-1896) of Liberty Hall, Nevada County; medical doctor, justice of the peace, sawyer.

*Diary, January 1857-March 1858; accounting figures continue through May 1859, 142 pages.*

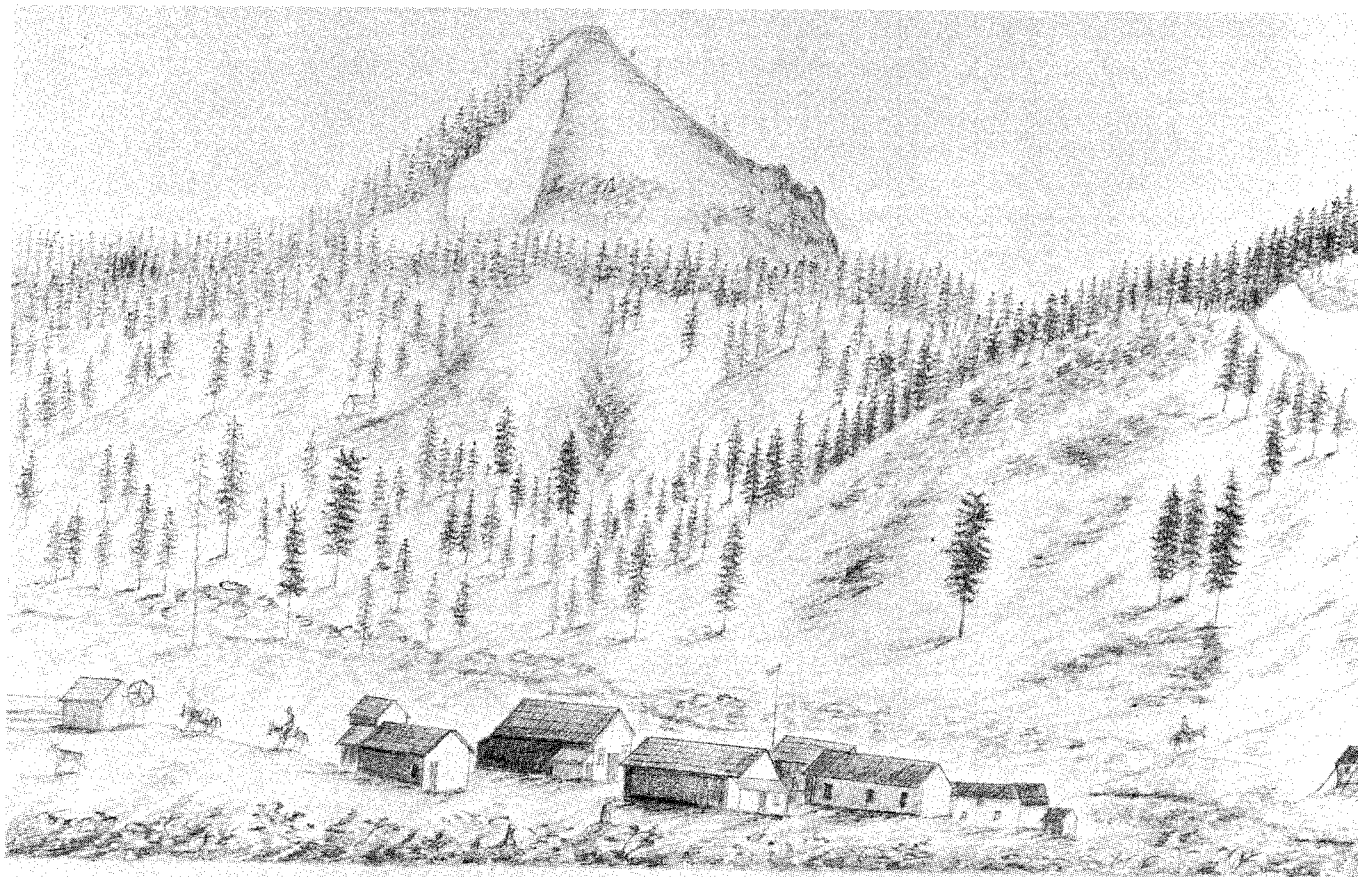
Activities include occasional sick calls, work in lumber mill, construction of cabin; entertainments such as the circus; sketchy and often illegible record.

MILNER, Joseph (1827-1894) b. Yorkshire, England; druggist, gold miner.

*Photostat of typed copy of travel and daily diary, March 1849-July 1854, 32 pages.*

Overland journey from Tennessee to Sacramento; places, distances, weather conditions; mining along the American and Yuba rivers and with the Mountain Fluming Co. and Langton & Co., San Francisco; return trip to the East via the Isthmus of Panama; mentions traveling with Kit Carson and seeing "Wild Cat," chief of the Seminole Indians.





*Union Valley and Pilot Peak, Plumas Co. Cal. 1857.*

NORTON, Erastus Harmon (1827-1895) b. Byron, New York; miner.

*Typed copy of travel and daily diary, March 1852-March 1854, 65 pages.*

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn; details five months' hardships aboard ship; exacting record of setting up in California gold fields and adapting to become a shrewd and cautious businessman, building reservoirs and making tools; judgmental and self-righteous tone, but vivid imagery.

PAGE, Frank (or Francis) W., of San Francisco; banker.

*Diary, July-September 1855, 45 pages.*

Business and social life of prominent San Francisco banker during California's financial panic of 1855; legal struggle to save Page, Bacon & Co.; frequent mention of Henry H. Haight, partner, whom Page blames for company's troubles; eloquent, fascinating, concise account. Diary accompanied by letters and legal documents, 1851-1857.

PARTRIDGE, Sam C. (1865-1890); Oakland High School student.

*Diary, January-May 1879, 150 pages.*

Tells of friends and activities, construction of bows and arrows, purchases and costs, Oakland election in March and ratification of California constitution in May; factual account. Diary also includes a nine-page description of a trip to Yosemite in 1883.

PORTER, David Dixon (1814-?); U.S. Naval officer.

*Travel diary, February-May 1849.*

Routine report of daily conditions aboard the *Panama*, a mail ship owned by Pacific Mail Steamship Company, sailing between New York and San Francisco; emphasizes weather, arrivals, and departures from ports, comments on the watch; well written but dull.

RICHARDSON, Joel, of Maine.

*Typed copy of travel diary, November 1849-April 1850, 18 pages.*

Sea voyage on *Cantero* from Bangor, Maine, to San Francisco via Cape Horn; emphasis on daily weather conditions and ship's course; includes poem written by first mate, verse from an American graveyard in Valparaiso, and complete list of crew, passengers, and residences prior to journey; dry account.



*Inventor Thomas Varney kept journals of his experiments with explosives; his wife Maria focused on her emotional life and social-reform concerns.*

RISTVEDT, Peder P., of Norway; sailor.

*Photostat and microfilm copies of travel diary, April 15-September 4, 1901, 160 pages.*

Written in Norwegian, journal covers a voyage on the ship *Gjoa* to test her sea worthiness and to make oceanographic experiments. In 1907 the *Gjoa* discovered the Northwest Passage with Ristvedt as one of the five Norwegian crewmembers.

SHERMAN, Richard Mitchell (1813-1901), of Newport, Rhode Island; whaler, ship clerk.

*Photostat of travel diary, November 1844-May 1848, 75 pages.*

Sea voyage aboard *George Champlin* from Newport to Sandwich Islands to northwest coast of America and back to Owhyee, November 2, 1844-January 14, 1846; a second voyage on *Emphrainoa* bound for California, January 15, 1846-May 10, 1848. Good descriptions of whale chases; weather; crew's chores; activities in port; interaction between crew members; diarist a lonely, religious, introspective man who frequently mused on his own and others' characters. Diary accompanied by personal and business papers, 1849-1864.

TATE, James (1795-1849), of Kentucky, Missouri.

*Typed copy of travel diary, April-October 1849, 28 pages.*

Overland journey from St. Joseph, Missouri, to "famed land of gold in California to try and repair a ruined fortune"; good descriptions of preparation of wagon train, countryside, route, and Sacramento; readable. Diarist died upon arriving in California.

TWIST, Julia S. Peck, of Beloit, Wisconsin; photographer.

*Typed copy of travel diary, February-March 1861, 20 pages.*

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Panama aboard the *Ariel* in successful search for her husband in California; adventures shipboard and on shore, including mountain climbing; literate and amusing.

Published: *Past Made Present, a History of Beloit, 1830-1900*.

VARNEY, Jotham, of Brunswick, Maine; farmer.

*Typed copy of travel diary, October 1849-April 1851, 11 pages.*

Sea voyage from Bath, Maine, to Sacramento via Cape Horn, on the *America*; list of passengers and crew, including members of Brunswick Company, a group from Maine organized to search for gold along the Sacramento; daily activities, weather conditions, ship's course, descriptions of South American islands and ports, Sacramento, prices of goods; brief account of mining for gold, decision to buy a lot



and set up shop making kegs; return sea journey via Panama; brief, readable account. Diary accompanied by typed copies of eight letters, 1849-1851, to wife and children in Maine containing more details than diary.

VARNEY, Maria L. (?-1888); housewife, writer, club woman.

*Diary, January 1852-October 1854, 60 pages.*

Scattered entries expressing feelings about leaving mother in East and arriving in San Francisco to meet husband, Thomas Varney, after a three-year separation; description of death of young daughter. Pasted into diary are many printed letters to newspapers revealing interest in social reform, including women's rights and dress, slavery, education, and assimilation of the foreign born. Unusual diary with vividly expressed emotions.

VARNEY, Thomas (?-1900) b. Vermont; miner, businessman, inventor.

*Travel diary, February-August 1849, 80 pages.*

Sea voyage from Cincinnati down Ohio and Mississippi rivers to San Francisco via Panama in 1849; describes daily life aboard ship, weather conditions, seasickness, ports, trek on foot across Panama, water rationing; philosophical comments on slavery, patriotism, and natives; motivated by desire to accumulate easy fortune in gold fields.





*Daily diary, May 1857-January 1858, 120 pages.*

Journal of inventor's experiments with a burner as a lamp; progress in legal suit involving deed to property; drafts of letters to newspapers, 1860-1862, and letters pertaining to fraudulent patent; descriptions of mines; scientific.

*Daily diary, March 1875-February 1877, 120 pages.*

Journal of experiments with gunpowder at Giant Powder Works; manipulation of gunpowder ingredients; testing explosions; impressions of Clipper Gap Iron Mines; notes of mine accidents from explosions; entries consist solely of experiments.

*Diary, July 1877-November 1878, 20 pages.*

Journal of experiments with cartridges, engines, powder works at a mill; lists of powder formulas of various companies and experiments with gunpowder; factual.

VINCENT, Joshua S. (1823-?) b. Elmira, New York; soldier, printer.

*Travel and daily diary with typed transcription, July 1846-November 1847, 100 pages.*

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn as member of New York Volunteers; describes

weather, fish and fowl, dull, daily routine aboard ship, Rio de Janeiro, San Francisco, and activities in Monterey; detailed, interesting and at times humorous.

WILLIAMS, John L., of Batesville, Arkansas; newspaper publisher.

*Incomplete handwritten copy of travel diary, October 1848-March 1850, 22 pages.*

Journal of anecdotes and character studies while aboard the steamship *C. J. Marshall* enroute along the Ohio River from Cincinnati to St. Louis; highly readable. Not described is the company's overland journey with a herd of cattle to California.

YOUNG, George W., of Massachusetts; farmer.

*Travel and daily diary, May-October 1849 and March-September 1850, 93 pages.*

Sea voyage from Boston to San Francisco via Cape Horn by members of the Massachusetts Mining Company; weather conditions, ship's location, activities of fellow passengers. Second part describes establishing a farm in San Jose Valley, crop growth and selling prices; uneventful account including occasional philosophical reflections, especially concerning slavery.

The photographs are from the CHS Library.

#### ERRATA—Winter 1976 Quarterly

Harry Kelsey, "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles"

Page 331: Rafael Mesa was conclusively identified as a settler in a list prepared at Los Alamos on July 15, 1780, not July 15, 1781.

Page 333: Nicolasa Ramirez and Guillermo Soto were not "in the first group" of people who settled at Los Angeles. They traveled in the same party as Mesa, and their July wedding at San Gabriel adds evidence that Mesa arrived well before the traditionally accepted date of August, 1781.

Page 335: The list of settlers and retired soldiers prepared at Los Angeles on February 4, 1816, was compiled by Guillermo Cota, not Guillermo Soto.

## Book Reviews

### *Mirror of the Dream: An Illustrated History of San Francisco.*

By T. H. Watkins and R. R. Olmsted. (San Francisco: Scrimshaw Press, 1976. 300 pp. Illustrations. \$27.50.)

*Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, reviews editor of the Quarterly, social historian, and author of the recent publication All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975.*

This book delights both the mind and the eye. Too often "illustrated histories" are simply tired collections of often-seen pictures punctuated by vapid, innocuous texts. But *Mirror of the Dream* includes scores of fresh, previously unpublished photographs and a lively, intelligent discussion of San Francisco history from the Gold Rush to the present.

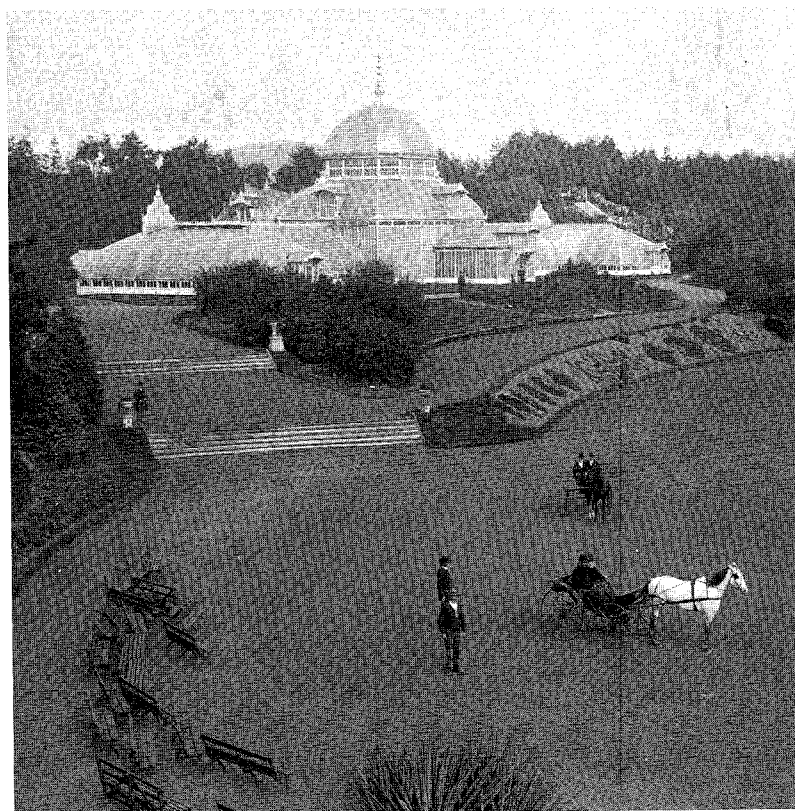
According to Watkins and Olmsted, cities are "the very essence of civilization, the mirror of the dream. And nowhere does the reflection of our own civilization gleam more authoritatively than in the successive exposures of the process and purpose, the accident and ambience that shaped the city of San Francisco. . . ." If this sounds like typical San Francisco chauvinism, it should be noted that the authors' affection for the city is tempered by a realization of its shortcomings. A major theme of the book is the extent to which the dream has been unfulfilled, and ample coverage is given to the many instances of social conflict, political corruption, physical desecration, and cultural failure in the city's history. The tone of the book is witty and ironic rather than romantic.

Most of the illustrations depict modest, everyday elements of life in the past, though the mandatory photographs of the Earthquake and Fire, the 1934 General Strike and the changing skyline are included. But the best of the pictures give insight into the routine lives of normal people and thus balance the text, which of necessity deals with the movers and shakers and the major events. The illustrations are well-integrated into an overall physical design which is elegant without being lavish.

The book's greatest shortcoming is its failure to emphasize San Francisco's ethnic and cultural diversity. Chinatown and the anti-Chinese movement are well covered, but aside from this, the reader would have difficulty discovering that San Francisco has always been a city of foreign immigrants. In 1970 nearly half the population was either foreign-born or

children of foreign-born parents, and in the past the percentage has been even greater.

Watkins and Olmsted are preservationists at heart, and their book documents the destruction of much of San Francisco's physical heritage in recent years. But *Mirror of the Dream* also chronicles some significant preservationist victories and ends with an ambitious plan for public access and development on the northern waterfront. Viewing the city and its immense problems in 1976, the authors still claim that "time had not yet done its work. If San Francisco was very lucky—and very, very careful—perhaps it never would." But even if the city as we know it does self-destruct, this book will remain a tribute to the dream of a refined urban civilization that San Francisco has consistently evoked throughout its history.



*A timeless tableau of San Franciscans on the lawn of Golden Gate Park's Conservatory.*



*California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts.*

By Julian Nava and Bob Barger. (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1976. 428 pp. Illustrations, index. Paper \$7.95.)

*California Historymakers.*

By Alan A. Hynding. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1976. x, 154 pp. Illustrations, Paper \$4.95.)

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*Reviewed by Edward Staniford, teacher of California history at Chabot College, Hayward, and author of The Pattern of California History (1976) and a forthcoming local history, El Cerrito: Historical Evolution.*

During the past decade, college and university teachers have sought novel approaches to stimulate student interest in reading materials for standard courses, like ones in California history. The general textbook providing systematic treatment of the subject and the supplementary reader covering major problems and issues have given way to books with specialized approaches which catered to student interest. After a decade of the so-called anti-textbook movement, the issue is still a live one, though one discerns a renewed appreciation of the general textbook. The issue at stake is whether students benefit from selective approaches or systematic treatment in gaining a better understanding of California's historical development.

Among the latest publications utilizing novel approaches are a Julian Nava and Bob Barger textbook, *California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts*, and Alan Hynding's reader, *California Historymakers*. The 428-page paperback textbook produced by Nava of California State University at Northridge and Barger of Long Beach City College focuses on the impact of minority groups on California's historical development. Each chapter opens with an inquiry and ends with questions which are designed to promote student comprehension of chapter material. The writing is generally clear and flows easily, though the style is uneven. The text, generously supplemented with photographs, is presented in an attractive format. The authors tell their story in traditional narrative fashion, sprinkled with familiar anecdotes. They tend to describe events rather than analyze problems and issues, which sharpen the focus on historical developments. The authors lean to the older approach by emphasizing the Indian and Hispanic periods (42 per cent), as compared to the 1850-1910

period (33 per cent) and the 1910-1975 period (25 per cent), and by stressing political topics (3 parts) over economic (1 part) and social (1 part) topics.

The authors have undertaken an ambitious scheme which falls short of fulfillment. Their objective to present a comprehensive outline of the subject in concise form is compromised by their tendency to dwell at length on selected topics, then glide over other topics. Consequently they give scant attention to major subjects such as party machines and reform politics from 1870 to 1920, manufacturing enterprises from 1870 to 1945, religious movements from 1870 to 1910, and the social revolution of the 1960's. This shortcoming may be attributed to preoccupation with the second objective of showing the role of racial minorities, to which they devote almost one-fourth of the text in the American period alone. The authors present a simplified version of the complex subject which is generally descriptive rather than analytical.

They examine racial relations from a narrow rather than a broad perspective. Occasionally they veer toward rhetoric and the stereotype—the good guys versus the bad guys—which is apt to arouse compassionate concern rather than a judicious understanding of injustices done to minority groups. The problem of scholarly treatment of such a subject may be in the method. The general textbook apparently lacks the advantages of the specialized readers (Daniels and Olin, Frakes and Solberg, and Wollenberg), which provide a sophisticated understanding of minorities in California history. Whatever the limitations of the Nava-Barger publication as a general textbook, it will certainly appeal to teachers and students who share sentiments of the authors in their emphasis on racial minorities in California history.

Alan Hynding, who teaches at San Mateo College, uses the biographical approach to enable his reader to "personalize" California history, and he has done the job well. He presents twenty-two historical figures, writing a brief descriptive biography to introduce a scholarly study for each figure. Most of the studies are drawn from leading books on the subjects, but several are selections from professional journals, including four from the *California Historical Quarterly* and two from the *Pacific Historical Review*. Hynding's biographical sketches are well-written and end with provocative questions for the reader to consider in evaluating the historical figure. He admits to certain biases in selecting recent figures over earlier figures and including the not-so-famous because they were interesting, as well as the famous

*California's Indian population, severely depleted by the time A. W. Ericson photographed this ceremony in Humboldt County, may have numbered as high as 310,000 before the invasion of the white man.*

who were important figures. By such a self-imposed goal, Hynding omits major figures (Earl Warren and Henry Kaiser to mention two), and his text might be appropriately entitled "Interesting Historical Figures" rather than History-makers in the sense of decision makers of California history.

In his biographical sketches, Hynding shows more care in qualifying the historical roles of his later figures than the earlier ones, which leads to a few inaccuracies. Costansó is given credit which belongs to Ayala for the first accurate description of San Francisco Bay (Costansó made a rough sketch from a Marin hillside). To say none surpassed Vallejo in wealth and prestige among the Mexican rancheros is to overlook de la Guerra in Santa Barbara, Domínguez in Los Angeles, and Yorba in San Bernardino, as Paul Gates shows. The "first acclaimed literary figure" in the state's history is not Louise Clappe (Dame Shirley), but Lt. George Derby, as Franklin Walker will attest. Huntington may have been the "most hated man" in some quarters, but he was in addition so greatly respected that Bancroft included an admiring biography of the railroad leader in his "Builders of the Commonwealth" series. The collection of historical biographies in this 154-page reader is nevertheless a quality work that will be undoubtedly a useful reader for teachers and students of California history.

### *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970.*

By Sherburne F. Cook. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. xvii, 239 pp. \$12.75.)

*Reviewed by Albert B. Elsasser, Associate Research Anthropologist, University of California, Berkeley.*

It is a truism that interpretation of historical events can be heavily conditioned by emphasis on demographic data. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, the magnitude of impact of white civilization upon the native Indians can be significantly measured by invoking population figures alone. Several scholars have concerned themselves with these matters, but none has gone so far in this field as the late S. F. Cook. Cook was a well-known physiologist, primarily, and his studies of California Indians are marked by the same exacting methods he employed in investigating all sorts of biological phenomena, whether or not they referred to human subjects.



Obviously any general assessment of demographic data pertaining to Indians would have to begin with estimates of their numbers in the pre-European contact period. In 1940-43, when Cook first published his work on the native populations of California, he agreed with Anthropologist A. L. Kroeber's figure of around 133,000 Indians in 1768, about the time of the first Franciscan Mission entry to California. Since an earlier and generally accepted estimate by James Mooney of the number of pre-Contact Indians in North America north of Mexico amounted to slightly over 1,000,000, probably both Kroeber and Cook were being cautious in attributing such a relatively small number (less than 150,000) of native occupants to California.

In the present volume, Cook increases the number of California Indians before 1768 up to 310,000. This is accomplished by supplementing his earlier (c. 1942) work with a vast amount of new information and insights. If we accept Cook's new figure, then the implication that almost one-third of the Indians in what are now the United States and Canada resided in California surely must be modified. Mooney's (1928) total for these regions indeed must have been far off the mark. In addition, in the new numerical terms of Cook, at least, the responsibility of Hispano-Mexican missionaries or colonists or of Anglo-American miners in reducing the



Indian population is almost doubled. It should be noted that the decimal census of California Indians around 1900 lists only about 15,000 Indians, not much lower than Cook's estimate for that time.

Following the summary of the pre-Contact population data, Cook devotes the remainder and greater part of the book to demographic considerations of the period from 1860 to 1970. Here he makes liberal use of U.S. Census and other government documents, and by careful annotation of data on age distribution, vital statistics (e.g. birth/death ratios), "degree of blood," and spatial distributions of Indian populations, he comes up with several clear trends involving the history and fate of the Indians. Among these is the observation that even though the California Indian population has shown a remarkable increase or resurgence since 1900, it is difficult to see how their genetic integrity can be maintained indefinitely. The chief factor here is probably mixing, based upon the Indians' comparatively recent strong removal from a rural to an urban environment.

This volume is an indispensable reference for students of California history. It is at once probably the culmination for native demographic studies in California and perhaps will serve as a pacesetter for similar pursuits concerning other native groups elsewhere in North America.

### *Eminent Women of the West.*

By Elinor Richey. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1975. 276 pp. Illustrations. \$7.95.)

### *Women of the West.*

By Dorothy Gray. (Millbrae: Les Femmes, 1976. 180 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95.)

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*Reviewed by Lynn Bonfield Donovan, CHS manuscripts librarian and coordinator of the Women in California collection. She is actively searching for manuscript, printed, and photographic sources on women's roles and activities.*

Authors Elinor Richey and Dorothy Gray are to be commended for tackling a subject so long neglected—western women's history. Both writers have approached the subject

through biography, and both volumes are handsomely published, Richey's with good photographs. Each has been written for the general public, however, and perhaps it is unfair to review them in this journal of history where the criteria of primary source research and clear interpretation are usual evaluative standards.

Elinor Richey has chosen nine women for "profile treatment," women who were born and raised in the West (four in California) and all of whom achieved national acclaim: Gertrude Atherton, Imogen Cunningham, Isadora Duncan, Abigail Scott Duniway, Julia Morgan, Jeannette Rankin, Florence Sabin, Gertrude Stein, and Sarah Winnemucca. Richey's introduction makes the claim that each of these women was pushed to independence by "the social climate of the West" and by the gifts of "courage and persistence and pride of sex and optimistic discontent" given them by their mothers, theories which are not developed in the biographies themselves. Except for an interview with Cunningham (which is mentioned in the text but not in the bibliography), the biographies bring no new material to the reader and consist mainly of a retelling of stories from other printed sources. Major manuscript collections exist for most of these women, and it is regrettable that they have not been consulted.

Recently both Duncan and Atherton have been popular subjects with writers. Richey's treatment of Duncan, in particular, must be added to the list of these studies which contribute no fresh insights on this unusual woman, including Ishbel Ross' *Charmers and Cranks* (Harper & Row, 1965) and Antoinette May's *Different Drummers* (Les Femmes, 1976). On the other hand, Atherton has received some skilled attention in history journals, most notably in the recent articles by Sybil Weir in *San Jose Studies* (February, 1974) and Carolyn Forrey in the *California Historical Quarterly* (Fall, 1976). Unfortunately, Richey's evaluations of Atherton's writings are frequently incorrect; while Atherton's heroines were independent, often forthright, and outspoken, not all of them (or even half of them) "flouted Victorian mores." And while Atherton did sometimes cast her heroines after herself (Melton Abbey and Helena Belmont, for instance), she does not reflect anything but her independence in others such as Tiya, Dido, and Ida Compton. It is not a fair assessment either to say that in the later Atherton novels, all male characters appear deficient compared to the heroines. As for Richey's statement that Atherton had "many . . . runaway best sellers," only *The Conqueror* and *Black Oxen* would qualify, and none sold anywhere near a million copies, as did

Owen Wister's *The Virginian*. I would agree that Atherton was "the most read woman writer of her times," although I'm not sure how to prove it, and certainly she has not received the credit deserved for originating the biographical novel.

Richey's journalistic style, although popular these days, is unfortunate in tone. In addition to suggesting historic interpretation without presenting facts, she makes a practice of first-naming women without extending the familiarity to men. I could read "Julia" (for Morgan) if the author would also write "Bernard" (for Maybeck).

Dorothy Gray's book on western women is far more solid although subject to criticism. Her brief biographies of about twenty women (which do not overlap with Richey's selection) include Willa Cather, Sacajawea, Dame Shirley, and Narcissa Whitman. Gray's stated purpose is to describe the "strange," meaning "unique," experience offered in the West for women. Although I would agree that the western woman's experience differed from that of her sisters in the East, I think it was not so different from her eastern grandmother's pioneering existence. In any case, Gray makes an attempt to describe the western experience by including women who made the long overland journey from the East, women who lived in mining communities and on farms and cattle ranches, and even women who were members of minorities. Most of her essays are based on wide primary research, and exciting reading is made from the stories of Juliet Brier's 1849 crossing of the Mojave Desert and Biddy Mason's fight in the California courts for freedom from slavery. (One source overlooked on Mason was Sue Bailey Thurman's *Pioneers of Negro Origin in California* [Acme, 1952].) Incidentally, Gray's book points out one of the main difficulties in the "heroine" approach to women's history, i.e., to convince readers of the importance of a particular woman, her role may be falsely enlarged, as in Gray's essay on Sacajawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Gray's book has been published by Les Femmes, an imprint specializing in general interest books by, for, and about women. Anyone interested in women's history should be alert to their fine publications; some are guides for women actively changing their roles, and some are of historical importance—my favorite being Judith Colucci Breault's *The World of Emily Howland: Odyssey of a Humanitarian*.

Two other recently published books briefly touch on the subject of western women's history although their main focus is in the East. W. Elliott Brownlee and Mary M. Brownlee's

*Women in the American Economy: A Documentary History, 1675 to 1929* (Yale University Press, 1976) includes the wonderful story of San Francisco ILGWU organizer, Jennie Matyas. June Sochen's *Movers and Shakers: American Women Thinkers, 1900–1970* (Quadrangle, 1973) contains references to Californians Miriam Allen deFord and Anita Whitney.

As a final note I applaud Richey and Gray for titling their books with dignity. At last we have buried the cranks, the charmers, the gentle tamers, the shady ladies, and the wily women of the West.

### *The Real Joaquin Murieta: Robin Hood Hero or Gold Rush Gangster?*

By Remi Nadeau. (Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Books, 1974. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$6.95.)

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*Reviewed by Leonard Pitt, Professor of History at California State University, Northridge, and author of the college textbook, We Americans: A Topical History of the United States (1976).*

Wise readers often balk at books that claim to deal with the "real" anything, including the "real Joaquin Murieta." Still, this is a serious work by a recognized writer (author of *Los Angeles, From Mission to Modern City*, and *The Water Seekers*) and one that merits careful reading.

The main point of the book is that while Joaquin Murieta is, indeed, a literary myth, the creator of the myth, John Rollin Ridge (Yellow Bird), did not weave him out of whole cloth. Rather, he founded his fanciful tale on a genuine, though elusive and poorly defined, badman. Those who have concentrated on debunking Ridge—especially Joseph Henry Jackson in *Bad Company* and Franklin Walker in *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*—have thrown the baby out with the water. Nadeau cites newspapers and other primary sources dating from the 1850's which, he says, were overlooked by "all" previous writers, including Jackson and Walker.

Nadeau's central argument in favor of a "real" Joaquin is sound enough. In the course of establishing it he re-examines the origins of the literary myth, the alleged exploits of Joaquin in Los Angeles and Calaveras, the skullduggery of the rangers who went to kill him, the confusion over the identity of Joaquin's sidekick, Three-Fingered Jack, and the latter-day writings of "myth-killers" Jackson and Walker.



Yet the book invites criticism. The author's claim to originality is exaggerated. Though his facts are more numerous, his basic assumptions and conclusions closely resemble those of Walker and Jackson. The latter, citing the *Alta California* of 1853, refers to "a marauding cattle-thief who did exist—Joaquin Murieta" (*Bad Company*, p. 4). I said almost the same in *Decline of the Californios*. The truth is that even Nadeau's strenuous efforts have turned up no dramatically new hard proof about his man—no baptismal or marriage record, no gallows confession or corroborated eyewitness account to give him flesh and blood and character.

Another point: in a work where evidentiary matters are of prime importance and where all evidence is circumstantial and inconclusive, precise citations are absolutely essential. The editorial decision to omit footnotes was unwise. We are left wondering exactly *who* gave the testimony about Joaquin in the Los Angeles murder trial, who said what about him on the night of November 7, 1852, and who established the "public record" on him. Are the data from credible or corroborated witnesses? We deserve to know, yet the bibliography alone won't help on this score.

But the writing is lively and lucid, the coverage is broad and balanced, and, despite its defects, the book is a welcome addition to the literature of Crime and Punishment in Gold Rush California.

### *Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial.*

Edited by Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: California Catholic Conference, 1976. ix, 166 pp. \$5.00.)

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*Reviewed by Gary F. Kurutz, CHS Library Director.*

"The present volume," according to editor Msgr. Francis J. Weber, "is issued by the California Catholic Conference, in the name of the Golden State's People of God, as a prayerful tribute to the American nation in the 200 years of its independence." This slender volume consists of a collection of seminar papers presented at three California Catholic universities by a group of distinguished historians and prelates that "touch upon a number of vital historical factors identified with the Catholic presence along the Pacific Coast." While the book, as one would suspect, focuses on the reli-

gious, it also provides significant data on things secular.

Although much of the material included has been previously published or made available elsewhere, Editor Weber fashioned together in one volume a capsulization of the best research currently underway dealing with California's Hispanic past. Weaving together the art of biography and historical interpretation with the science of archaeology, eleven essays cover a number of topics ranging from early Jesuit exploration of Baja California to the activities of modern graduate students digging up the past at Mission San Diego. A major portion of these reminiscences, of course, are devoted to the missions and their relationship with the secular world of viceroys, soldiers, and American smugglers. Only two of the contributions touch on the post-Hispanic era.

After the introductory material, *Some California Catholic Reminiscences* begins with W. Michael Mathes' superbly written "Cornerstone of Catholicism in the Californias" which summarizes Jesuit activities in exploring Baja California and founding fifteen missions. Fr. Francis Guest, an expert on Spanish colonial institutions, provided an analysis on the famed Leather Jacket Soldiers derived from his findings in the Archivo General de La Nación in Mexico City. James R. Moriarty, an archaeologist-historian from San Diego, contributed a compelling narrative on his efforts to locate at Mission San Diego the remains of California's first martyr, Fr. Luís Jayme. A comparison of events in California and in the thirteen colonies was eloquently stated by Doyce B. Nunis in "California Within the Context of the American Revolution." Fr. John B. McGloin, the doyen of San Francisco's Catholic heritage, narrated the story of his city's first churches and their pastors. Sister Magdalene Coughlin, an authority on California's early coastal trade, contributed a revealing article on the practical economics of sustaining a mission system in "Missionary and Smuggler: Agents of Disobedience or Civilization?" Art historian Therese Whitcomb reviewed the architectural impact of Catholicism's most visible reminder, the mission. Fr. Maynard Geiger, the distinguished biographer of Fray Junípero Serra, delivered a fascinating account of the mechanics involved in achieving the missionary's beautification. Ray Brandes, an accomplished archaeologist and historian, illustrated the significance of Mission San Diego based on his years of excavations at the site. Iris Engstrand completed this historical anthology by summarizing her extensive research into the cryptic file of José de Gálvez, the powerful *visitador general* who made possible the colonization of Alta California.

Each of these essays, then, represents highly readable and well researched narratives by experts in their respective fields. However, it is regretful that a selective bibliography or notes were not included to round out the scholarly tone of several of these essays. Nonetheless, these reminiscences present the reader with a lucid perspective of the events that shaped California at the time the thirteen colonies struggled for their independence. It is a fine tribute to the Bicentennial of a new nation and the creation of an "Outpost of Empire."

### *We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush.*

Translated and edited by Edwin A. Beilharz and Carlos U. López. (Pasadena, Ward Ritchie Press, 1976. xx, 230 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.)

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*Reviewed by A. P. Nasatir, Professor of History at San Diego State University and author of several studies of Chileans and other South Americans in California.*

Carlos U. López, Chilean-born California resident and professor at Menlo College, has actively engaged in making known the story and literature of his countrymen who came to California in the era of the Gold Rush. In remarkable rapidity he has published a number of books and articles, mostly in Spanish, giving to the public the story of the achievements, contributions, and experiences of his countrymen in the early days of California under American rule. Joining with his friend and mentor, Professor Edwin A. Beilharz, distinguished professor of history at Santa Clara University, now retired, and an expert on early Spanish California, he now gives us in English translation in *We Were 49ers* a valuable addition to our knowledge of early California immigrants from Chile.

Chilean gold-rush observer Vicente Pérez Rosales has been known to historians and the California chapters in his *Recuerdos del Pasado* long ago published in English in a limited and now scarce edition. López and Beilharz, however, have found the unpublished manuscript of the first part of Pérez Rosales' diary in the Chilean National Archives (this reviewer added a copy to The Bancroft Library) and published it together with three earlier articles and parts of others, most of which material may be found in the most popular

editions of the *Recuerdos del Pasado*. The Pérez Rosales accounts given here are easier to read and informative, and they contain the very picturesque *dibujos* or illustrations reproduced in higher quality than in the Spanish edition which López had published in Argentina.

The second half of *We Were 49ers* gives to the American public and scholar English translations of several obscure but important first-hand accounts of the history of the Chileans in California. Chief among these is the record of Jil Navarro, which chronicles anti-Chilean violence in California and adds for the first time the Chilean perspective on Chili Gulch.

A year ago López wrote and edited *Episodios Chilenos en California* in which he summarized and added greatly to the story of Chilean activities in the Gold Rush period. The chief original source in that publication is the relatively unknown account of Pedro Isidore Combet, and this new volume contains a first English translation.

Bejamín Vicuña Mackenna is the only other early Chilean whose travels in California in 1855 are well known to American scholars, and the selections included in this new work are translated for the first time into English. Beilharz and López have also selected a few letters from *Los Chilenos en San Francisco de California*, by Roberto Hernández Cornejo, which is undoubtedly the best account of Chileans in California heretofore published. The four letters from contemporary Chilean newspapers and periodicals selected from Hernández' Volume I have been translated by Beilharz and López, but when this reviewer checked the accounts in the newspapers against those in Hernández, he found that the letter of February 16, 1855, is neither complete nor the same as appeared in *El Mercurio*; the letter dated February 21 appeared in *El Mercurio* of May 11; and the letter of May 1 appearing in *El Mercurio* of July 21 is only a small part of the complete letter and is organized differently.

The last selection in *We Were 49ers* is the account of Pedro Ruiz Aldea, who was in California a decade after the other Chileans. López published letters numbered 4, 5, and 6 in his *Episodios*, but only letters 4 and 5 appear in this volume under review.

In addition, *We Were 49ers* contains a short introductory account of the Chileans in California based mainly on López' *Episodios* and a bibliography. Handsomely printed by the Ward Ritchie Press, the volume is profusely illustrated with Pérez Rosales' drawings and with other (some well known) illustrations. Beilharz and López have rendered the Chilean accounts in smooth and free English translation



making for pleasant and enjoyable reading. I have not closely checked the translations, but in Aldea's closing paragraph the Spanish account given in *Episodios* reads "martes" [p. 173] and the English account [p. 223] renders that "Thursday." Since Chileans have an almost "Chilean Spanish language" of their own, perhaps my knowledge of Spanish is faulty.

*A Primer for Local Historical Societies.*

By Dorothy Weyer Creigh. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976. 153 pp. Illustrations. Paper \$6.50.)

*Researching, Writing and Publishing Local History.*

By Thomas E. Felt. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976. 165 pp. Paper \$6.00.)

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*Reviewed by Seonaid McArthur, Associate Director of the California History Center at De Anza College, Cupertino.*

Two new American Association for State and Local History publications are valuable guides for the increasing number of local historians and historical societies in California. Each of the volumes provide professional guidance and direction, while promising to alleviate the frustrations of the "seat of the pants" approach.

In *A Primer for Local Historical Societies*, Dorothy Creigh presents the ABC's of not only beginning a society but improving the quality and professionalism of society functions. A founding member of Nebraska's Adams County Historical Society, the author bases her suggestions and advice on ten years of successes and failures she has observed and experienced.

The primer begins with the foundation on which the society will be built. Questions about functions, purposes, and scope are raised along with the nature of membership and financing. She discusses the fundamentals of society organization in light of interests, limitations, and the importance of its goals within the community.

The author also provides the steps for growth and improvement of the historical society described as "short on money but long on enthusiasm, imagination, and ingenuity." The primer is for both the amateur and the overambitious. The initial fundamentals of organization such as Financing,

Publicity, Beginning Projects for Limited Budgets, and How to Use Volunteers are discussed. Individual chapters are devoted to projects which can be developed to enhance the society's purpose and meaning: Oral History, Site Marking, Establishing a Historical Library, and Preservation of Buildings. A thorough listing of references enhances the practical nature of the primer. While making the reader aware of the enormous task at hand, *A Primer for Local Historical Societies* could not only help establish but revitalize this necessary community endeavor whose mission today becomes increasingly complex and important.

Thomas Felt's *Researching, Writing, and Publishing Local History* is a useful handbook for recordkeeping, research techniques, and printing technology. With candor and depth the author provides proven guidelines and procedures for compiling grass roots history resources for publication. Each section of the work provides practical tips which promise to benefit the community group or unseasoned local historian.

The author's emphasis upon the scholarship of research attempts to remove the taint of "sentimentality, poetic nostalgia, pride, and wishful thinking" that often discolors the reliability of local history publications. Methods for carefully obtaining an honest appraisal of facts and interpretations include efficient, thorough, notetaking methods; maximum utilization of resource libraries, publications, and historical agencies; and correct use of primary and secondary sources. The author also emphasizes using the scholarly researcher who is willing to contribute to the common stock of sources available to others.

Without getting into the subject of style, Felt's chapter on writing treats the basic areas of common concern in historical writing: quotations, documentation, and bibliographic listings. The legal use of source materials, copyright laws, and related legal considerations are a relevant but too often overlooked aspect of documentation discussed here. The section on publishing is recommended for anyone who wishes to use the latest in printing technology to communicate the written and visual message. The author clearly presents the basics of technical terminology, printing techniques, and methods for improving the visual and aesthetic impact of the printed message. While it often seems difficult or bothersome to learn new methods of approaching old subjects such as research, writing, and publishing, Felt's important resource guide facilitates improving the quality of scholarship in local history publications and making maximum use of time and limited printing budgets.

# California Check List

Gary F. Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1976-77) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Angelo, Valenti. *Valenti Angelo: Author, Illustrator, Printer*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1976. \$70.00. Illustrations. Publisher, 545 Sutter Street, San Francisco.
- Basten, Fred E. *Beverly Hills. Portrait of a Fabled City*. Los Angeles: Douglas West Publishers, 1975. Illustrations. 383 pp. \$23.50.
- Castellini, Mary W. *A Victorian Heritage in Old Cow Hollow*. San Anselmo: by the author, 1976. Illustrations. 56 pp.
- Dinkin, Joan. *Fresno. A Bibliography*. Fresno: Apr Publishers, Inc. [1976]. \$6.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 5075, Fresno 93755.
- Dmytryshyn, Basil. *Colonial Russian America. Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*. Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976. Illustrations. 158 pp. \$12.00. Publisher, 1230 S.W. Park Avenue, Portland, OR 97205.
- Earl, Guy Chaffee. *The Enchanted Valley and Other Sketches*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1976. \$10.50. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale, 91209.
- Egan, Ferol. *Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation*. New York: Doubleday, 1976. Illustrations. \$14.95.
- Heritage Oaks Committee. *Native Oaks. Our Valley Heritage*. Sacramento County Office of Education, 1976. Illustrations. 60 pp. \$2.50. Publisher, 9738 Lincoln Village Road, Sacramento.
- Hylan, Arnold. *Bunker Hill: A Los Angeles Landmark*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. Illustrations. 160 pp. \$22.50. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont, LA 90004.

- Geiger, Maynard and Meighen, Clement H. *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815*. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976. 170 pp. \$19.95.
- Gibson, Wayne Dell. *Tomas Yorba's Santa Ana Viejo, 1769-1847*. Santa Ana: Santa Ana College Foundation Press, 1976. Illustrations. 328 pp. \$12.00. Publisher, 17th at Bristol Streets, Santa Ana 92706.
- Kahn, Edgar M. *Cable Car Days in San Francisco* (Reprint). San Francisco: The Friends of the San Francisco Public Library, 1976. Illustrations. 117 pp. \$4.95.
- Kaneshiro, Takeo (Compiler). *Internees. War Relocation Center Memoirs and Diaries*. New York: Vantage Press, 1976. 102 pp. \$4.95. Publisher, 516 W. 34th Street, New York 10001.
- Kauffman, Richard. *Headlands*. San Francisco: Friends of the Earth, 1976. Illustrations. 88 pp. \$125.00. Publisher, 529 Commercial Street, San Francisco 94111.
- Levinsohn, John. *Cow Hollow. Early Days of a San Francisco Neighborhood from 1776*. San Francisco: San Francisco Yesterday, 1976. Illustrations. 45 pp. \$7.50. Publisher, 2107 Union Street, San Francisco.
- Lewis, Betty. *Watsonville. Memories that Linger*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1976. Illustrations. 220 pp. \$10.00. Publisher, 8 E. Olive Avenue, Fresno 93728.
- MacDonald, Craig. *Leather 'N Lead. An Anthology of Desperadoes in the Far West, 1820-1920*. Boston: Branden Press, 1976. 144 pp. \$7.95. Publisher, 221 Columbus Avenue, Boston 02116.
- MacPhail, Elizabeth C. *Kate Sessions. Pioneer Horticulturist*. San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1976. Illustrations. 153 pp. \$8.50. Publisher, Sierra Museum, Presidio Park, San Diego.
- Mason, Jack. *Olema, Dear Valley*. Inverness: North Shore Books, 1976. Illustrations. \$1.25. Publisher, P.O. Box 293, Point Reyes Station 94956.
- Mitchell, Annie R. *The Way It Was. The Colorful History of Tulare County*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1976. Illustrations.



# Check List

- 165 pp. \$14.50. Publisher, 8 East Olive Avenue, Fresno 93728.
- Muir, John. *Rambles in King's River Country*. Ashland: Lewis Osborne, 1977. 64 pp. \$25.00. Publisher, Box 647, Ashland, OR 97520.
- O'Neal, Margaret. *California's Mission Heritage*. San Diego: by the author, 1976. Illustrations. 104 pp. \$22.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 82197, San Diego 92138.
- Peterson, Bonnie and Heidenger, Martha. *Dawn of the World. Stories Told by the Coast Miwok Indians*. Fairfax: Tamal Land Press, 1976. 38 pp. \$3.00. Publisher, 39 Merwin Ave., Fairfax 94930.
- Pethick, Derek. *First Approaches to the Northwest Coast*. No. Vancouver, B.C.: J. J. Douglas, Ltd., 1976. Illustrations. 232 pp. \$12.50. Publisher, 1875 Welch Street N. Vancouver, B.C.
- Pettitt, George A. *History of Berkeley*. Alameda: Alameda County Historical Society, 1977. Illustrations. 74 pp. \$4.95.
- Pourade, Richard F. (Editor). *The Broken Stones. The Case for Early Man in California*. San Diego: Copley Books, 1976. Illustrations. 166 pp. \$16.50.
- Rather, Lois. *The Man With the Hoe*. Oakland: The Rather Press, 1977. 85 pp. \$20.00. Publisher, 3200 Guido Street, Oakland 94602.
- Rosenbaum, Fred. *Free to Choose: The Making of a Jewish Community in the American West*. The Jews in Oakland. Berkeley: Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, 1976. Illustrations. 164 pp. \$12.00.
- Sayles, Stephen. *Clair Engle: The Forging of a Public Servant*. Chico: Association for Northern California Records and Research, 1977. 78 pp. \$4.75. Publisher, Box 3024, Chico 95927.
- Shumate, Albert. *The California of George Gordon*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1976. Illustrations. 272 pp. \$9.50. Publisher, Box 230, Glendale 91209.
- Sleeper, Jim. *Santa Ana Mountains*. Trabuco Canyon: California Classics, 1976. Illustrations. Maps. 240 pp. \$10.00. Publisher, Box 291, Trabuco Canyon 92678.
- . *Turn the Rascals Out. The Life and Times of Orange County's Fighting Editor Dan M. Baker*. Trabuco Canyon: California Classics, 1976. Illustrations. 432 pp. \$10.00.
- Smith, Jesse M. (Editor). *Sketches of Old Sacramento*. Sacramento: Sacramento County Historical Society, 1976. Illustrations. 244 pp. Publisher, Box 11175, Sacramento.
- Strauss, Leon Lewis. *Two Children, a Tenor, and a Dog*. Redwood City: By the author, 1976. Illustrations. 47 pp. Author, 158 King Street, Redwood City 94062.
- Sunset International Petroleum Corp. *Echo in Spring Valley: A History of Sunset, CA*. N.P.: By the author [1976]. Illustrations. 30 pp.
- Urban, Roger F. *Oakland—A Mediterranean City*. [Oakland] By the author, 1976. Illustrations. 48 pp. \$13.95.
- Washburn, Wilcomb E. (Editor). *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*. New York: Random House, 1976. 3026 pp. 4 vols. \$135.00.
- Weber, Francis J. *The Jewel of the Missions. A Documentary History of San Juan Capistrano* [San Juan Capistrano, by the author], 1976. \$10.00. San Juan Capistrano Mission, P.O. Box 697, San Juan Capistrano 92675.
- Willms, Marjorie. *Touring Knights Ferry with Tom*. Oakdale: By the author, 1976. Illustrations. 160 pp. \$12.00. Author, 16025 Willms Road, Oakdale 95361.
- Wood, Richard Coke. *The Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Water Controversy*. Bishop: Chalfant Press, 1976. Illustrations. 75 pp. \$3.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 787, Bishop 93514.
- Wurm, Ted. *St. Leo's Parish, Oakland, CA. 1911-1917*. Oakland: St. Leo's Parish, 1976. 48 pp. \$3.00. Publisher, 154 Ridgeway Avenue, Oakland 94611.
- Zumwalt, Kenneth D. *Joe Zumwalt. Fortyniner*. San Diego: Zumwalt Trade Printing Co., 1976. Illustrations. 38 pp. Publisher, 1241 Sunset Cliffs Blvd., San Diego 92107.

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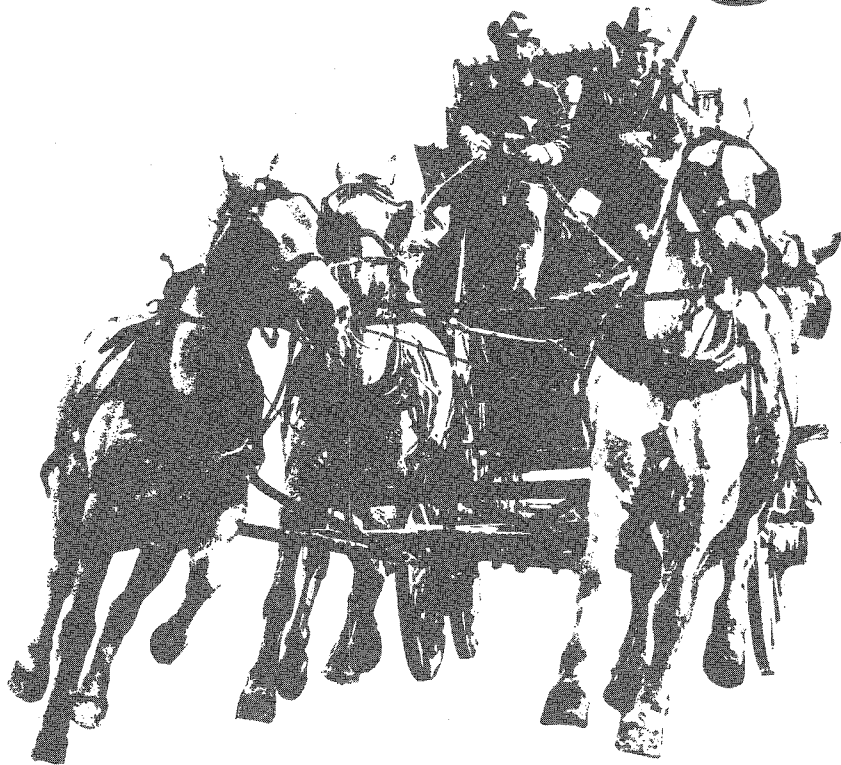
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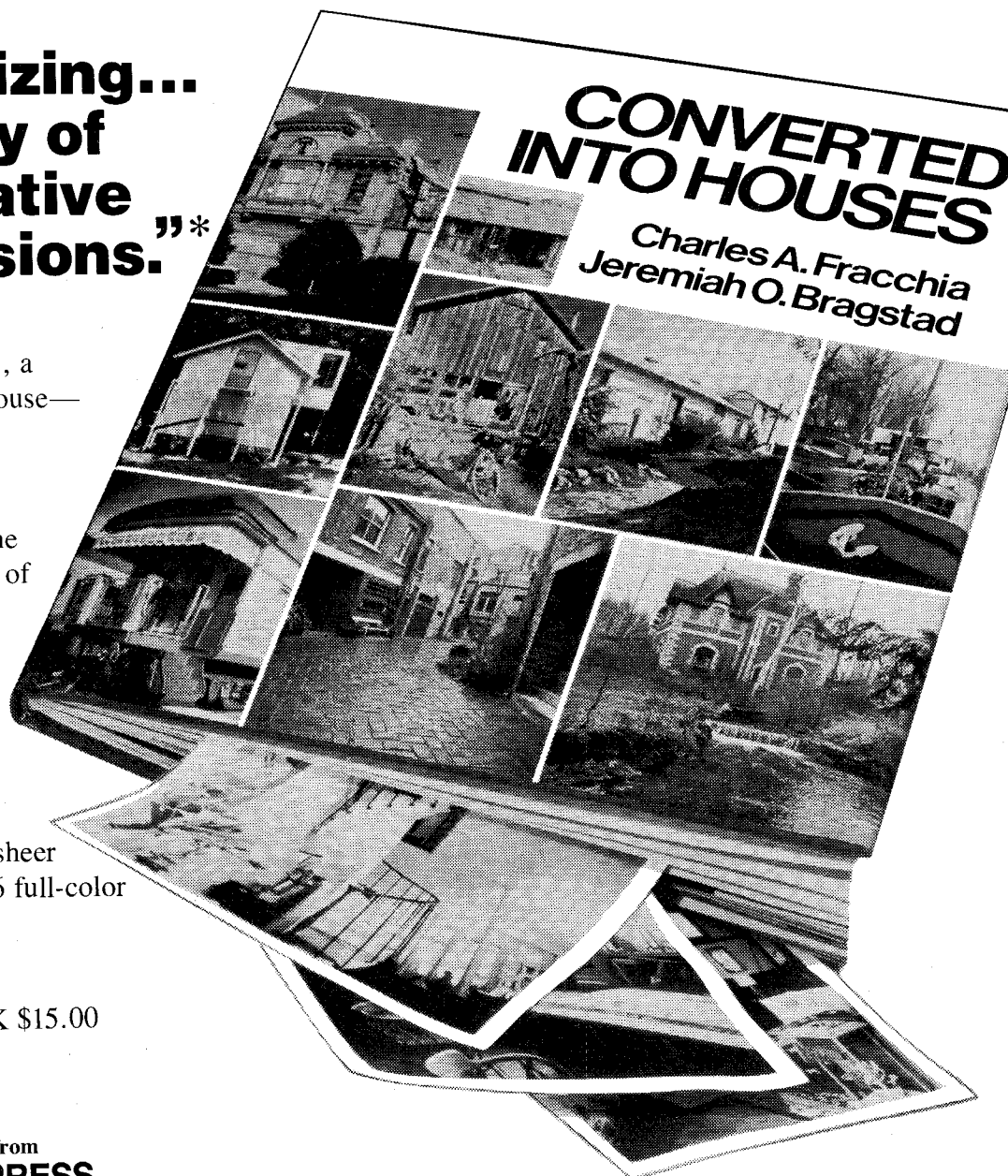
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